

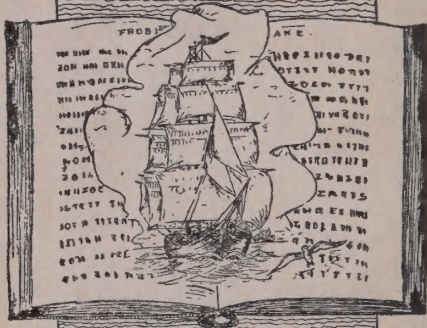
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HISTORY

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND
BY A. THIERRY · INTRODUCTION BY J.
ARTHUR PRICE, M.A. · IN 2 VOLS. · VOL. I

AUGUSTIN THIERRY, born at Blois in 1795. Professor at the Collège de Compiègne for a year, and later secretary to Saint-Simon, 1814-17. In 1841 awarded the Prix Gobert by the French Academy.

Died in Paris in 1856.

History of
" THE NORMAN
CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

VOLUME ONE

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Augustin

A. THIERRY, 1795-1856

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

MODERN research has shown that Thierry's picture of the Norman Conquest is in some ways one-sided. Freeman sums up the truth fairly well when, in the preface to the "History of the Norman Conquest," he observes that the eloquent French writer was right in what he asserts, and wrong in what he leaves out of sight. Thierry, we may say, felt so deeply the horror of the Norman Conquest, that he saw in it little but the destruction of the independence of a nation at the hands of hypocritical marauders. No doubt the Norman Conquest was, for the moment, a gloomy tragedy, relieved only by occasional flashes of hopeless heroism. Probably, however, as we shall see later, Thierry exaggerates the agony of the conquered. He wrote, be it remembered, when Sir Walter Scott's "Ivanhoe" had popularised the idea that the Norman domination had lasted to the days of Richard the First, and when the chronicle of "Ingulph of Croydon," from which he draws some of his most telling illustrations, was accepted as a contemporary document. The book is now admitted to be a forgery of the fifteenth century. So it was impossible for Thierry to perceive the great advantages that in the end resulted to England from the Norman Conquest. The truth is that to the Norman Conquest we owe both our national unity and our national institutions. That the England which William conquered had no genuine unity is proved by the kind of resistance that she offered to him. At the crisis of Hastings, the midlands and the north, represented by the Earls Edwin and Morcar, went not to the battle. Similarly, after Hastings, the patriotism of the Londoners, ready for a second fight under the banner of the Etheling, was thwarted by the treachery of these same lords of the midlands and the north. Never, in truth, after Hastings did William encounter the forces of England, or, indeed, of Wessex. All that he had to trouble him in the future was sporadic local resistance. England, in a word, was beaten by the Normans because she possessed no national unity. Her present unity she owes in no small measure to the Norman conqueror. Not only did common oppression blend together, in a united resistance to feudalism, the men of Wessex and Mercia and Northumbria; the hard centralised government of the Norman kings, acting

through its sheriffs, brought something like order to the land, and prepared the way for representative institutions. It is difficult to see how English liberties, as we now know them, could have developed from the primitive institutions of the England that William subdued, nor can it even be contended that for the mass of the population the Conquest meant a loss of freedom. There was not in any of the burghs or towns of the England of Harold anything in the nature of municipal liberties. Lincoln, for instance, in the pages of "Doomsday-book," appears to have been under the rule of certain hereditary thegns. Thierry is quite mistaken in his statement that the London in which William was crowned was governed by a merchant guild. London, long after the battle of Hastings, was, as Bishop Stubbs says, "a bundle of communities, townships, parishes, and lordships, of which each had its own constitution."¹ And when London obtained her liberties in 1191, she borrowed the municipal constitution of Rouen.²

Feudalism was, however, rapidly growing up in the England of the later Saxon rulers. The economic organisation of the feudal manor already existed in the island, and the cultivators of the soil were practically serfs, or at least not free. The latest historian of the period³ observes: "For the great mass of the population, the working substratum, whose labours sustained the life of the nation, the Norman Conquest made but little change." The Conquest was actually beneficial to the community, in so far as it put an end to the old heptarchic divisions of the country like Wessex and Mercia, whose earls were practically independent sovereigns. Only on the Welsh and Scotch borders did William and his successors tolerate, in personages like the Earl of Chester, feudal potentates on the Continental model; and here alone was anarchy rife to the close of the middle ages. The Norman sheriff in the average English county was, no doubt, an objectionable person to those whom he governed; still he was the king's responsible servant, and his powers were easily curtailed, first by the creation of itinerant justices, and afterwards by the summoning of the knight of the shire to consult with the king in Parliament. Had not Anglo-Saxon feudalism been uprooted by the centralised despotism of the Conqueror, England would probably have broken into independent states, like Germany and Italy; or, like France, have been forced, at the close of the middle ages, to exchange anarchy for despotism.

¹ Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 404.

² Round, *Commune of London*, p. 219 *et seq.*

³ *Political History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23: G. Burton Adams.

We have spoken of the political blessings that in the end flowed to England from the Norman Conquest. We should remember, too, that our religion and literature have also been the gainers. When Thierry treats the Conquest on its ecclesiastical side, we lament for the cruel expulsion of a native hierarchy, and brand Gregory VII. and Lanfranc as grasping and unprincipled ecclesiastics. Doubtless the treatment that the Anglo-Saxon bishops received from the Normans was harsh; but the motives that inspired it were in some ways commendable. The papacy under Gregory VII. stood for moral order in a world of brute force. The standard of the English Church of pre-Conquest days was deplorably low. "The best of her bishops, like Ealdred, Archbishop of York, and Lyfing, Bishop of Worcester, were patriotic, sensible men, who were content to accept the moral standard round them, and never dreamed it their duty to make it better."¹ The Normans who had felt the spirit of the age of Hildebrand, who had lived under the shadow of monasteries like S. Evroul and Bec, and cathedrals like those of Rouen and Bayeux, were doubtless scandalised at the unascetic and unenthusiastic Church that they found in England. King William, indeed, had made the ecclesiastical condition of England one of the justifications of his invasion, and both he and his nobles doubtless believed that a genuine service was done to the English when their Church was placed under the oversight of the great scholar and theologian Lanfranc. And it must be allowed that in the end the ecclesiastical like the temporal conquest of England was a benefit to the country. The ecclesiasticism of Lanfranc, the piety of Anselm, inspired English religion with new ideals. Ere long these ideals bore fruit alike in the struggle that men like Becket and Langton carried on against royal tyranny, and in the glorious cathedrals, abbeys, and churches which the piety of the twelfth century reared for a lasting monument of Latin Christianity in our land.

A brief word only can be said on the effects of the Norman Conquest on literature. In the year before Hastings literature was dead. Once upon a time England had produced great battle-songs. In these days it turned out nothing but scrappy chronicles. After Hastings the monastic chronicler is at the worst a journalist, at the best an historian, for to him now politics are real things. Add to this, that the Norman jongleurs brought to England the romances and songs of Arthur and Charlemagne, from which Spenser and Tennyson drew much of their inspiration. So let us never forget

¹ Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, p. 78.

that it was well for our literature that the Norman knights pierced the Saxon shield wall on the field of Hastings.

Taking the view that he does of the Norman Conquest, it is natural that Thierry should hardly do justice to its most prominent figure, the conquering duke. He seizes too readily on every tale that tells against this villain of his tragedy. For instance, there is no reason to suppose that William, as Thierry relates, ever poisoned Conan of Brittany. No Breton writer mentions the charge, and the story no doubt grew up because Conan's sudden death proved extremely fortunate for William's enterprise. And it must be confessed that our historian ignores almost the better side of the Conqueror's rule. His professions of respect for English laws and customs are set down to pure hypocrisy. Unscrupulous and grasping as the great Norman was, he was not a conscious hypocrite. Strange as it may seem to us, he had no doubt convinced his own conscience that he was the true heir of Edward the Confessor, and that Harold was a usurper. He struggled to rule England, be it remembered, as an English king, and not as a foreign conqueror. Even the great land confiscations which gave the Norman his grip over the soil of England were carried out with some regard to legal forms.

The contemporary chronicler of the conquered race fully allowed that William had kept better order than any king before him. "No man," he writes, "durst slay another man had he never so mickle evil done to the other ;"¹ and it was said that in these days a man might go safely through the kingdom with his bosom full of gold.

And there was even a gentle side to William's character ; for while he was stark to those who withstood his will, he was "mild to the good men who loved God."

William, indeed, was a mixed character. Compared with the great conquerors of the past, and even with some of the conquerors of modern times, he stands high. Terrible and cruel as often were his deeds, he never altogether lost the sense of right and wrong. No man who ever lived has had a more permanent effect on the history of the future. While the institutions that a great man like Cromwell founded hardly survived his death, the political and legal life of modern England have developed from the institutions of her Norman conqueror.

Augustin Thierry, the historian of the Norman Conquest, was born at Blois on May 10, 1795. He was of humble extraction ; but as a schoolboy at the Blois local college, or, as we should say, grammar school, he made a mark, passed thence to the normal

¹ *Chron. Petrib.*, 1087.

school, a body framed to supply France with teachers, and eventually obtained a professorship at a provincial college.

As was the case, however, with other distinguished students of the *École Normale*, he preferred literature to education, and, as early as 1814, we find him at Paris, writing articles of a great historical character for liberal journals. In Thierry's early writings the politician and the historian are closely combined, and, even in his later writings, the political note is more apparent than in the scientific historians of our day. It is necessary therefore to understand his political position.

His childhood had seen the ignominious collapse of the French Revolution before Napoleon's soldiers. His youth had not closed before the despotism of Bonaparte, after inflicting immeasurable suffering on Europe, had collapsed in disaster and ruin, leaving the armies of the allied sovereigns bivouacked in Paris. It was natural that Thierry, who had seen all these things and had never personally felt the enthusiasm of '89, should have combined a profound dislike to revolutionary tyranny with a hatred of military despotism. It would not have been unnatural, if with this he had been attracted to the reactionary party which drew its inspiration from Chateaubriand, and whose ablest representative at that time was Lamennais. Thierry, however, was a child of the people, and he had the historic sense. He disliked the *ancien régime*, and, as he tells us, he entertained a profound disgust for the political constitution that at this time existed in France. It was, in his words, "an odious and ridiculous imitation" of English institutions, comprising as it did an hereditary chamber of Peers, and a chamber of deputies elected on a high franchise. The men of the first French revolution had not been political Anglomaniacs; but the steadiness with which the English constitution had weathered the revolutionary storm had led to the mistaken belief that the creation of similar institutions in France, a country to which they were historically unsuited, might solve all political problems.

Thierry instinctively revolted against this unhistoric idea, and began to examine the British constitution itself in no over friendly spirit. The sequel shall be told in his own words. "One day when, in order to found this opinion on an historical examination, I had attentively read over some chapters of Hume, I was struck with an idea which seemed to me a ray of light; and exclaimed, as I closed the book, 'All this dates from a conquest; there is a conquest underneath.'" So sprang the idea embedded in the "History of the Norman Conquest," the first edition of which appeared in 1825, and the second in 1840. Originally Thierry

had believed that the struggle between Norman and Saxon had lasted in England for many centuries, and though he afterwards modified this view, one can still see that he sees in the Conquest and the institutions that flowed from it the triumph of a horde of aliens over the natural inhabitants of the country. A similar view he imports into his valuable historical works on his own country. All the evils of France he was at first inclined to impute to the conquest of the Gauls by the Franks. Further study and reflection induced him to modify this view ; he remains, however, essentially the historian of the French democracy. His chief French historical works are : "Lettres sur l'histoire de France," published 1827 ; "Dix ans d'études historiques," published 1834 ; "Récits Mérovingiens," published 1840 ; "Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et progrès de Tiers état," 1853.

Thierry was at one time closely associated with Saint-Simon and Comte. His brother, Jacques Nicolas Thierry, was also a distinguished writer, and a more active politician than himself. Our author married a Breton lady, Julie de Querangal, the member of a distinguished Breton family, who herself made some mark in literature. The circumstances of the historian's marriage are of tender and romantic interest. In 1830 he lost his eyesight, and it was then that Julie de Querangal linked her life with his. The marriage gave a fresh happiness to his life, and, as Hazlitt observes, "he was never more lucid, more graphic, and at the same time more vigorous in his style, than when it had become necessary for him to commit to other hands the transcription on paper of the works cast and elaborated in that powerful brain." Thierry died in Paris on May 22, 1856.

Thierry as a historian has the especial claim to our regard. In the first place he was one of the pioneers of the scientific school of historians. He went back to original sources. Instead of accepting the conclusions of lawyers and modern historians, he struggled to reconstruct history from contemporary documents. But, unlike some of the scientific historians of to-day, he remembered that the historian is not a mere Dryasdust, and that after all good history must be good literature. It is significant that the historical writers who claim to be scientific and succeed in being dull make no appeal to the reading public. If History is to regain her old place in the popular estimation, it will be when again we have writers who will take historians like Gibbon and Thierry for their models, and give us once more a picturesque presentation of the past in a style that is dignified and graceful. Perhaps, however, the greatest debt

that we owe to Thierry is his discovery of the human side of the far-off past. Prior to his time the friends of freedom had generally found their utopia in a "future all the brighter as the past was all the base." If they made any exception it was in favour of a golden age which existed only in fancy, or in the classic Commonwealths of Hellas and Rome.

Thierry proved the truth of Madame de Staël's statement that justice was ancient and taught the world that patriotism and liberty were alive in the dark ages, and that the privileges of the aristocrat, against which the French Revolution proclaimed war, even in truth only modern usurpations, resting often on a basis not of immemorial prescription, but of military violence. Lastly, we must remember the debt that England owes to him. First of all writers he made Milton's age of "Kites and Crows" human and interesting. It is easy to talk of his mistakes, and of the superior knowledge of more modern writers. The moderns themselves in their turn have been shown to have made blunders as bad as any of those of which Thierry has been accused. In any case, they have largely trod in his footsteps, and it is to Thierry that we owe the first clear conception of the Norman Conquest as one of the most epoch-making events in the annals of Europe.

J. ARTHUR PRICE.

THE following is a list of Jacques Nicolas Augustin Thierry's published works. In collaboration with H. de Saint-Simon : "Profession de foi des auteurs de l'ouvrage annoncé sous le titre de défenseur de la charte et des idées libérales, au sujet de l'invasion du territoire français par Napoléon Bonaparte," 1814 ; "De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne," &c., 1814 ; "Opinions sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815," 1815 ; "L'Industrie littéraire et scientifique lignée avec l'Industrie Commerciale et Manufacturière," 1817 ; "Dix Ans d'Études historiques," contributed to the *Censeur Européen*, 1817-20 ; "Lettres sur l'histoire de France," in the *Courrier Français*, 1820-21 ; "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses causes et de ses suites jusqu'à nos jours," &c., 3 vols., 1825 ; Introduction to Armand Carrel's "Résumé de l'histoire d'Écosse," 1825 ; "Lettres sur l'histoire des Communes," 1827 ; Preface to his wife's book, "Scènes de Mœurs et de Caractères au xix. siècle et au xviii.," 1835 ; "Récits des Temps Mérovingiens," 1835 ; in book form, with introduction, "Considérations sur l'histoire de France," 1840 ; "Rapport sur Travaux de la Commission des documents inédits de l'histoire du tiers État," 1837 ; letter to author prefixed to Laponneraye's "Récit historique des rivalités et des luttes de la France et de l'Angleterre," 1845 ; "Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers État" (in collaboration with Bourguelot and Louandre), 1850-6 ; "Essai sur l'histoire du tiers État," 1853. Works, in 8 vols., 1846-7 ; in 10 vols., 1855 ; "Life," by C. Barthélemy, 1890.

INTRODUCTION

WHATEVER degree of territorial unity the great modern states may appear to have attained — whatever may be the community of manners, language, and public feeling which the habit of living under the same government and in the same stage of civilisation may have introduced among the inhabitants of each of those states—there is scarcely one of them which does not even now present living traces of the diversity of the races of men which in course of time have come together in it. This variety shows itself under different aspects, with features more or less marked. Sometimes it is a complete separation of idioms, of local traditions, of political sentiments, and a sort of instinctive enmity, distinguishing from the great national mass the population of a few small districts; and sometimes a mere difference of dialect, or even of accent, marks, though more feebly, the limit of the settlements of races of men once thoroughly distinct, and hostile to each other. The further we go back from the time in which we live, the more definite these varieties become, and the more clearly we perceive the existence of several nations within the geographical circumference which now bears the name of one only. In place of what we call provincial *patois*, we find complete and regular languages; and that which appears to us now but as a want of civilisation and a resistance to the progress of improvement, assumes in past ages the aspect of original manners and a patriotic attachment to ancient institutions. Thus, things which have very little importance in modern society are very important in history. It were falsifying history to introduce into it a philosophical contempt for every departure from the uniformity of existing civilisation, and to consider those nations as alone worthy of honourable mention, to whose names the chance of events has attached, for the present and for the future, the idea of that civilisation.

The different populations of the European continent and islands have, at different periods, clashed together, and invaded each other's territories, never halting in their progress until natural obstacles, or a more powerful resistance,

occasioned by a greater concentration of the conquered population, obliged them to stop. Thus, the populations conquered at various periods have been found lying in a sort of strata, in the different directions taken by the great national emigrations. In this movement of successive invasions the most ancient races, reduced to a small number of families, deserted the plains and fled into the mountains, where, though poor, they maintained their independence; while their invaders, invaded in their turn, became serfs of the soil in the country which they occupied, for want of meeting with a vacant asylum in impregnable fastnesses. This happened in Gaul, to the Gallic race, when, after driving the Basques to the mountains, it was itself pressed from north to south by the Cambrian or Celtic race;—in England, to the portion of that same Cambrian race which did not inhabit Wales, when the Anglo-Saxons invaded the island in the direction of east to west;—and to the Anglo-Saxons themselves, when the Normans had landed on their territory in the year 1066.

The conquest of England by William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, is the last territorial conquest that has taken place in the western part of Europe. Since then there have been none but political conquests, like those of the Romans, and quite different from those of the barbarians, who removed with their families to the invaded territory, sharing it among themselves, and sparing to the vanquished their lives only, on condition of their working and remaining quiet. This invasion having occurred at a time less remote from our own than that of the Germanic populations which, in the fifth century, dismembered the Roman Empire, the documents which we possess relative to all the particulars of it are much more numerous, and indeed are sufficiently complete to furnish a just idea of what a conquest was in the middle ages—to show in what manner it was executed and maintained, what kind of spoliations and sufferings it imposed upon the conquered, and what were the moral and physical powers employed by the latter in reacting against their invaders. This picture, drawn in ample detail, and with the proper colours, must possess an historical interest more general than may seem to comport with the bounds of time and place to which the events it records are limited; for almost every nation of Europe has, in its present existence, something derived from the conquests of the middle ages. To those conquests most of them owe their geographical limits, the

name which they bear, and, in a great measure, their internal constitution, that is, their distribution in orders and classes.

The upper and lower classes which we now see struggling with each other for systems of ideas or of government are, in several countries, no other than the conquering nations and the enslaved nations of an earlier period. Thus the sword of conquest, while changing the face of Europe, and the distribution of its inhabitants into distinct nations, has left its original features to each nation created by the mixture of several races. The race of the invaders, when it had ceased to be a distinct people, remained a privileged class. It formed a warlike nobility, which, to prevent its own extinction, recruited its ranks from the ambitious, the adventurous, and the turbulent, among the lower orders, and held dominion over the laborious and peaceable mass, until the termination of the military government resulting from the conquest. The invaded race, deprived of its property in the soil, of command, and of liberty—living, not by arms, but by labour—dwelling, not in castles, but in towns—formed another society, coexistent with the military society of the conquerors. Whether it be that it preserved within the walls of its towns the relics of Roman civilisation, or that, improving the small share which it received, it commenced a new civilisation—that class has risen in proportion to the decay of the feudal organisation of the nobility sprung from the race of the ancient conquerors, by natural descent, or by political affiliation.

Hitherto the historians of modern nations, in relating these great events, have transported the ideas, the manners, and the political state of their own time into times past. The chroniclers of the feudal period have introduced into the court of Charlemagne the barons and the peerage of Philip-Augustus, and have confounded the brutal government and violent state of things of the conquest with the more regular regime and more settled usages of the feudal establishment. The historians of the monarchical era having made themselves, exclusively, the historians of the prince, have been still more singular and contracted in their ideas. They have modelled the Germanic royalty of the first conquerors of the Roman Empire, and the feudal royalty of the twelfth century, upon the extensive and powerful royalties of the seventeenth. Living in a time when there was but one prince and one court, they have conveniently ascribed this order of things to preceding periods. With regard to the history of France—the different invasions

of Gaul, the numerous populations of different origins and manners placed upon its territory, the division of the soil into several countries because there were several races, the union, slowly progressive for six hundred years, of all those countries under one sceptre, the territorial and political unity resulting therefrom, are facts which they have entirely neglected. The historians which the eighteenth century has produced have in like manner been preoccupied by the philosophy of their time. Being witnesses to the progress of the middle classes, and advocates for them in opposition to the legislation and the notions of the middle ages, they have not calmly contemplated nor correctly described the periods in which those classes hardly possessed a civil existence. They have looked upon those facts with the disdainful eye of right and reason, which to effect a revolution in the public mind and in the state is well, but is by no means so well in writing history. However, this is not to be wondered at. Whatever mental superiority a man may possess, he cannot go beyond the horizon of the age in which he lives: it is that which gives to history its form and bearing.

But now it is not allowable to write history for the sake of a single idea. The present age requires to be informed of all; to have the existence of nations at different periods traced and explained, and to have its true position, colour, and signification given to each of the ages that are past. This I have endeavoured to do for the great event the history of which I have undertaken: I have consulted none but original texts and documents, whether in detailing the various circumstances of the narration, or in portraying the characters of the individuals and the populations to which it relates: I have taken so amply from these texts that I flatter myself I have left little worthy of citation: I have sought, in the national traditions of the populations least known, and in old popular poetry, for all that might furnish a just idea of the state of manners and feelings in those times and places to which I have carried the reader. In the form and expression of a recital, I have kept as close as I could to the language of the old historians, whether they were cotemporary with the occurrences they relate, or lived soon after the respective periods; and when I have been obliged to supply their insufficiency by more general views, I have sought, as much as possible, to authorise them by producing the original traits which led me to them by induction. And I have constantly preserved the narrative

form, in order that the reader might not have to pass abruptly from an ancient story to a modern commentary, and that the work might not present the incongruities which would appear in fragments of chronicles intermixed with dissertations. Besides, I thought that if I attended to narration rather than to dissertation—even in illustrating the facts and their general results—I might be able to give a species of individuality to the great masses of men; and that so, the political destiny of nations would afford somewhat of that humane interest which is involuntarily inspired by a plain tale of the fortunes and adventures of an individual.

My purpose, therefore, is to display in the fullest detail, and with the peculiar colouring of time and place, the national struggle which followed the conquest of England by the Normans settled in Gaul—to show, as far as they can be traced in history, the hostile relations of those two nations, violently united on the same soil—and to follow them in their long wars and their obstinate separation, until, from the mixture or the connection of their races, their manners, their wants, and their languages, there have arisen one only people, one common language, one uniform legislation. The stage on which this great drama has been acted is the island of Britain, Ireland—and also France, on account of the relations existing since the conquest of England, between the kings descended from the conqueror of England, and that part of the continent. They sought to extend their dominion there by invasion; and brought into action, for or against their projects, many populations in Gaul, whose history, too long unknown, will now be given. In general I have endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head the history of those populations whose only history is in old documents, known to none but a few of the studious, or in national chronicles which make no part of European literature. The cause of the obscurity into which these populations have sunk is not that they have been less worthy to find historians than the rest: indeed, most of them are remarkable for an originality of character which powerfully distinguishes them from the great nations with which they have been incorporated. Their struggle against this incorporation, effected in spite of them, occasioned a display of political activity which gave birth to great events, hitherto falsely attributed to the ambition of particular men, or to other personal or accidental causes. In a word, these novel researches may contribute to throw light upon a question

which is not without importance in moral science—that concerning the different varieties of the human species in Europe, and the great primitive races from which those varieties have sprung.

In this philosophical point of view, and apart from the picturesque interest which I have endeavoured to obtain, I considered I was doing what was really conducive to the progress of knowledge, in *construing* (if I may use the expression) the history of the Welsh, of the old Irish, of the Scotch, whether of the old or the mixed race, of the Britons and Normans of the continent, and in particular of the numerous population which inhabited and still inhabits southern Gaul, between the Loire, the Rhone, and the two seas. Without giving less importance to the great occurrences which are celebrated in modern history, I own that I have taken quite a peculiar interest in the local events relating to those neglected populations, as if I had thought myself bound to repair an unmerited injustice. Though forced to relate their particular revolutions in a summary way, I have done it with a greater degree of warmth and sympathy, and, I must acknowledge, with a sort of partiality. Perhaps an involuntary inclination to think that force and chance are always in the wrong have made me sympathise more warmly with the different masses of men which the formation of great states has deprived of their independence, their national existence, and even their national name, to which a foreign one has succeeded. This great movement of destruction and assimilation was, I know, inevitable. Violent and unlawful as it was in its principle, its present result is the civilisation of Europe. Yet he who is fired with enthusiasm while contemplating that civilisation and the great destinies it is preparing, may be permitted, when looking on the past, to lament the destruction of other civilisations, which might one day have come to maturity, and have enriched the world, had not fortune been against them.

It was necessary to give these brief explanations in order to prevent the reader from being surprised at finding in this book the history of a conquest, and indeed of several conquests, written in a manner quite the reverse of that hitherto adopted by modern historians. All of them, taking a course which to them has appeared natural, go from the conquered to the conquerors; they are more willing to enter the camp of the triumphant than that of the fallen; and they represent

the conquest as completed so soon as the conqueror has proclaimed himself master ; leaving out of the account, like him, all the subsequent efforts of resistance which his sword or his policy has baffled. Thus, in none of the authors who have treated of the history of England do we find any mention of Saxons after the battle of Hastings and the coronation of William the Bastard ; and it was left for a romance-writer, a man of genius, in these latter times, to reveal to the English people that their forefathers were not all vanquished in a single battle. A great people are not so quickly subjugated as would seem to be intimated by the official acts of those who govern by the right of force ; and the resurrection of the Greek nation proves that it is a strange mistake to consider the history of kings, or even of conquering nations, as that of all the country over which they hold dominion. Patriotic regret still lies deep in the breasts of men, long after all hope for the old cause of the country has expired. This feeling, when it has no longer the power to create armies, still creates bands of partisans, political brigands in the forests or on the mountains, and causes such of them as die on the gibbet to be venerated as martyrs. Recent works have informed us that this is the case with the modern Greek nation ;¹ and I have found it to be so with the Anglo-Saxon race, in collecting its history where it had not yet been sought—in particular facts—in legends or popular traditions, hitherto deemed unworthy to be made the foundation of a serious work and a probable narration. The resemblance between the condition of the Greeks under the Turks, and that of the English race under the Normans—not only in the leading features of servitude—which it is easy to conceive—but also in the particular form assumed by the national spirit amidst the sufferings resulting from oppression—in the moral instincts and superstitious notions to which they gave birth—in the manner of hating those whom there is the will without the power to conquer, and of loving those who still contend when the multitude have bowed their heads—is a fact worthy of especial remark ; and the comparison may not be wholly unserviceable in the moral study of man.

The placing in a stronger light the distinction of the two races in England after the conquest does not merely give importance to facts previously unobserved and neglected ; it

¹ See the discourse prefixed to the collection of the popular songs of modern Greece by M. Fauriel.

gives quite a new aspect and a new signification to events which are alike notorious and inaccurately explained. The long dispute between Henry II. and the archbishop Thomas Becket is one of those events, and there will be found in this work a version of it entirely new, and differing from that which is most generally received. It is for want of considering this dispute in its true light—for want of knowing all the elements of which the reciprocal hatred of the two adversaries was composed—that philosophical historians have so strongly taken part against the weaker and more unfortunate. They have completely forgotten, as regards this man, the principles of justice and philanthropy which they professed. After the lapse of six centuries they have persecuted his memory with odium and ridicule, and yet the cause of the enemies of Thomas Becket in the twelfth century has nothing in common with that of philosophy in the eighteenth. Henry II. was not a patriotic king, an advocate of religious independence, a systematic opposer of the papal dominion. It will be seen that he was actuated by quite other motives in his obstinate aversion for this man against whom he was the first to solicit the aid of the Pope.

If the serious circumstances which attended the contest between the fifth king of Norman race and the first archbishop of English origin after the conquest are to be attributed—more than to any other cause—to the still surviving hostility between the conquerors and the conquered, there is another occurrence no less important—the great civil war which broke out in the reigns of John and Henry III.—which was likewise a quarrel of races rather than of government. Its real cause was the apprehension, whether well grounded or not, entertained by the barons of Norman birth, that they themselves should undergo a conquest by foreigners called over to England by the kings, and be deprived of their territorial property and dominion by Poitevins, Aquitanians, and Provenceaux—as they themselves, a century and a half before, had deprived the Saxons. It was this essential interest, and not the pure desire of founding political institutions, that raised up in insurrection against the kings the *baronage* and the *chivalry* of England; and if that great aristocratical movement was supported by the popular favour, it was because the alarm of a second conquest, and the indignation at what was to lead to it, were common to the poor and the rich, the Saxon and the Norman.

A profound investigation of all the political phenomena presented by the conquests in the middle ages, and an observance of the share which religion had in them, have led me to a new mode of considering the progress of the papal power and of Catholic unity. Hitherto historians have represented that power as extending itself by a metaphysical influence alone—as conquering by persuasion; but it is certain that its conquests, like all others, have been effected by the ordinary means—by material means. If the popes did not go on military expeditions in person, they were parties to almost all the great invasions, and shared the spoil with the conquerors—even with conquerors who were still pagan. It was the destruction of the independent churches, effected in Christian Europe, concurring with that of the free nations, which gave validity to the title of Universal, taken by the Roman Church long before such a title was at all suitable to her. From the fifth to the thirteenth century there was not a single conquest that was not profitable to the court of Rome as well as to those who had effected it by the lance and the sword; and this other feature, hitherto overlooked, of the history of the middle ages, has excited in me, with regard to the different national churches which the Church of Rome called heretical or schismatic, the same kind of interest which I have already mentioned as relative to the nations themselves. Here, again, is another cause for sympathy—that most of these churches whose doctrine and practice have been successively abolished professed a Christianity more pure, more ardent, and, above all, more disinterested than that of the Roman clergy.

In conclusion, I must say a few words on the plan and composition of this work. It will be found to contain, as its title announces, a complete recital of all the particulars relative to the Norman conquest, placed between two more summary narrations—one, of the occurrences which preceded and paved the way for that conquest—the other, of those which have been consequent upon it. Before bringing forward upon the stage the characters who figure in the great drama of the conquest, I have endeavoured to make the reader acquainted with the ground upon which the different scenes were to be acted; for which purpose I have placed him sometimes in Great Britain, sometimes on the Continent. I have laid before him the origin, the internal and external situation, the first mutual relations, of the population of England and that of the duchy of Normandy, and the succession of events by which those

relations were so complicated as necessarily to become hostile, and lead to a project of invasion on the part of the latter of these powers. The success of the Norman invasion, crowned by the gaining of the battle of Hastings, produced a conquest the progress, the consolidation, and the immediate results of which form several distinct periods.

The first period is that of the territorial invasion. It begins with the victory of Hastings, on the 14th of October in the year 1066; it embraces the successive advances of the conquerors, from east to west, and from south to north; and ends in the year 1070, when all the centres of resistance have been destroyed—when all the powerful men have submitted, or have fled from the country. The second period, that of the political invasion, begins where the former terminates: it comprises the series of efforts made by the conquerors to disorganise, and (if we may so express it) to *denationalise*, the conquered population: it terminates in 1076, by the execution of the last chief of Saxon race, and the sentence of degradation passed upon the last bishop of that race. In the third period the conqueror labours to subject to a regular order the violent results of the conquest, and to convert into legal if not legitimate property, that which has been taken possession of by his soldiers. This period is terminated in 1086 by a grand review of all the conquerors possessing lands, who, renewing their oath of liege-homage to the king, appear for the first time as a settled nation, and no longer as an army in the field. The fourth is filled with the intestine dissensions of the conquering nation, and its civil wars, either for the possession of the conquered territory, or for the right of dominion over it. This period, longer than all the preceding, is closed in 1152, by the extinction of all the pretenders to the throne of England, excepting one only—Henry, son of Geoffroy Count of Anjou and the Empress Matilda, niece to William the Conqueror. And in the fifth period the Normans of England and of the Continent having no more internal quarrels to consume their strength and activity, set out from their two centres of action ‘to conquer and colonise abroad or extend their supremacy without changing their seat of empire. Henry II. and his successor Richard I. are the representatives of this period, which is full of continental wars and fresh territorial or political conquests. It terminates in the early part of the thirteenth century with a reaction against the Anglo-Norman dominion, so violent, that Normandy itself, the country of the

kings, the nobles, and the military population of England, is separated by conquest from that country, to whose conquerors it had given birth.

Corresponding to these different periods, there are successive changes in the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon nation: first, it loses its property in the soil; then, its former political and religious organisation; then, favoured by the dissensions among its masters, and attaching itself to the party of the kings against the rebelling vassals, it obtains concessions which give it a transitory hope of recovering its national existence, or again endeavours, though fruitlessly, to free itself by force. Finally, overwhelmed by the extinction of the divisions among the Norman population, it ceases to play any political part, loses its national name in the public documents and in history, and falls into the condition of an inferior class. Its revolts, having become extremely rare, are spoken of by cotemporary writers merely as quarrels between the poor and the rich: and it is the history of a commotion of this kind which happened in London in the year 1196, and was conducted by a person evidently of Saxon birth, which terminates the detailed account of the facts relating to the conquest.

When the history of the Norman conquest has been brought to this point, that of the populations of different races, treated of in the course of the work, is continued in a more summary form. The resistance which they offered to the nations more powerful than themselves, their defeats, the settling of the conquerors among them, the revolutions which they have attempted or accomplished, the events, whether political or military, upon which their influence was exercised, the amalgamation of populations, languages, and manners, and the precise period of its operation—all these I have endeavoured to place in a clear light. This last part of the work, in which a distinct article is devoted to each race of men, begins with the continental populations which have since become French. Then follow, in succession, those which are now called English—the Welsh, whose national spirit had such vitality that it has survived the conquest of their territory—the Scotch, who never underwent a conquest of that kind, and who struggled so energetically against the political conquest—the Irish, who had better have become serfs like the Anglo-Saxons than have preserved the small share of independence they retained, at the cost of peace, welfare, and civilisation—and the population of England, of Norman or Saxon origin, with whom these

national differences have become a distinction of orders which time has gradually weakened.

An error apparently unimportant, but which, in the relations of modern historians, has contributed to render this thorough distinction of races less obvious, is the use of the English orthography for the names of the conquering families and their posterity in the ages following the conquest. I have carefully restored to all these names their true Norman shape, disengaging them from the alterations which time has made in some of them in vulgar pronunciation, or the incorrect form which the first compilers of English chronicles gave to the others. I thought I should thereby attain a higher degree of that local colouring which seems to me to be one of the requisites, not only of historical interest, but also of historical truth. I have not applied to any one period the forms of speech of any other period, whether previous or subsequent. I have avoided, in relating the occurrences of the middle ages, the forms of modern style, and the titles or political denominations of recent date, as *prince*, *princess*, *monarch*, *sovereign*, *subject*, &c. I have said *he* or *she*, when speaking of a king or a queen, as was said in the middle ages. In short, I have given to each period of time, in the different countries into which this history has carried me, its original character, and even its peculiar names.

This scrupulous attention has led me to vary the orthography of the Anglo-Saxon names, so as to give them the form used in the precise period of time to which the particular person belongs, and to render obvious their sound and their primitive composition. In general, I have had but few alterations to make in the orthography already used for these names; but in those which belong to the Germanic period of the history of France I have been obliged to depart considerably from the received mode of spelling. It will, perhaps, be objected to this change, that in these cases custom is the law, and that a writer should be careful not to bewilder the public. But it should be remembered that a hundred and fifty years ago it was "the custom" in France to write and pronounce *Tite* and *Brute* both in history and on the stage; and that these two names, by resuming their Roman form, have made that which was formerly the fashion completely ridiculous. Besides, there are not twenty names in the Frankish period respecting whose orthography modern historians are agreed. What then is to be done with the multitude of those about

which they disagree, and the still greater multitude of those which have not yet been exhumed from the original chronicles, but which soon will be so, if we may trust the present inclination of the public mind for historical study? In my opinion there is but one mode of proceeding—which is, to act as those have done who in the present age have renewed physical science. Making no account of the false principles previously recognised as axioms, and the incorrect nomenclatures which constituted the old scientific language, they have gone direct to truth and reality, and the public have followed them, notwithstanding the novelty of their path.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY THE NORMANS

BOOK I

FROM THE SETTLING OF THE BRITONS TO THE NINTH CENTURY

ACCORDING to ancient traditions the island which now bears the name of Great Britain was originally called the country *of green hills*, afterwards the island *of honey*, and thirdly, the island of *Bryt*, or *Prydain*; ¹ from which last word, Latinised, the name of *Britain* seems to have been formed. From the remotest antiquity this island appeared, to those who visited it, to be divided into two large unequal portions, of which the rivers Forth and Clyde formed the common boundary. The northern part was called *Alben*, ² signifying *region of mountains*; the other bore the name of *Kymru* in the west, and that of *Lægr* in the east and south. These two denominations were not derived, like the former, from the nature or appearance of the soil, but from the names of two races of people, distinct from each other, who conjointly inhabited almost the whole extent of southern Britain. These were the Kymrys and the Lœgrys, ³ or, according to the Latin orthography, the Cambrians and the Lœgrians.

The Cambrian nation boasted of the higher antiquity. They had come in a body from the eastern extremities of Europe, across the German Ocean. One part of the emigrants had landed on the coast of Gaul; the other had chosen the opposite shore of the strait ⁴ and colonised Britain, which, say the Cambrian traditions, ⁵ had until then no other inhabitants than

¹ Trioedd ynys Prydain, No. 1. *Archæology of Wales*, p. 57.

² Or *Alban*, *Albyn*; in Latin, *Albania*, Albany.

³ More correctly, Lloegrwys.

⁴ Fretum Gallicum. Fretum morinorum.

⁵ Trioedd ynys Prydain. *Archæology of Wales*, p. 57.

bears and wild cattle, and where, consequently, the new colonists established themselves, without opposition, without war, and without violence,¹ as the first occupiers of the soil. But this honourable pretension can hardly be historically supported. It is most probable that the Cambrian emigrants found men in the island of Britain, men of another origin and a different language, whose country they invaded. This is attested by many names of places foreign to the Cambrian tongue, as well as by ruins of an unknown age, attributed by the vulgar tradition to an extinct race of hunters, who, instead of dogs, trained foxes and wild cats to the chase.² This primitive population of Britain was gradually forced upon the west and north by the successive invasions of strangers who landed in the east.

A part of the fugitives passed the sea and reached the large island, which was called *Erin*³ by its inhabitants, and spread to the other western isles, peopled, it is most likely, by men of the same race and language as the aboriginal Britons. Those who retreated into the north found an impregnable asylum in the high mountains which stretch from the banks of the Clyde to the extremities of the island, and established themselves under the name of *Gaëls* or *Galls*,⁴ which name they still bear. The remains of this dispossessed race, whose numbers were increased at various times by emigrations of their brethren of Erin, formed the population of *Albania*, or the *high lands* of Britain, a population distinct from that of the plains of the south, and its natural enemy on account of the hereditary resentments springing from the memory of the Conquest. The time at which these movements of population took place is uncertain; but it was at a later period that the men called *Loegrians* made their descent, according to the British annals, on the southern coast of the island.⁵

From the same records it appears that they emigrated from the south-west coast of Gaul, and derived their origin from the same primitive race as the Cambrians, with whom their language made it easy for them to communicate. "They settled in Britain, in amity, tranquillity, and peace," says the old tradition.⁶

¹ *Trioeddi ynys Prydain*, No. 5. *Archæology of Wales*, p. 58.

² *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. p. 31. *Ibid.* p. 327. These ruins are commonly called *Cylltan y Gwyddelad*, houses of the Gaëls. See Lhwyd, *Archæologia Britannica*.

³ In Latin, *Ierne*, *Inverna*, *Iernia*, *Hibernia*.

⁴ Or *Gadhels*, *Gwyddils*.

⁵ *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. pp. 292-300. *Trioedd, &c.* *Archæology of Wales*, ii. p. 58.

⁶ *Trioedd, &c.*, No. 5, p. 58.

To make room for these new-comers, the first colonists, either voluntarily, or (which is more likely) through compulsion, spread themselves along the borders of the western sea, which thenceforward took exclusively the name of Cambria, while the Lœgrians gave their own name to the southern and eastern coasts, over which they were distributed. After the founding of this second colony there came a third band of emigrants, sprung from the same primitive race, and speaking the same language, or a dialect differing from it but little. They had formerly inhabited the portion of western Gaul included betwixt the Seine and the Loire, and, like the Lœgrians, they obtained lands in Britain without war and without contention. To them it is that the ancient annals and national poems especially apply the name of *Britons*,¹ which in foreign tongues served to designate in a general manner all the inhabitants of the island. It is not precisely known where they established themselves: the most probable opinion is, that it was to the north of the Cambrians and the Lœgrians on the frontier of the Gaelic population, between the Firths of Forth and Solway.²

These nations of one common origin were visited, at various times, in a pacific or a hostile manner, by hordes of strangers. One of these, from that part of the Gaulish territory now called Flanders, being compelled by a great inundation to abandon their native country for ever, came in open boats without sails, and landed on the small isle of Wight and the neighbouring coast, first as welcome guests, and afterwards as invaders.³ The Coranians,⁴ a people of the Teutonic race, coming from a country which the British annals designate by the name of *the land of marshes*,⁵ entered the gulf formed by the mouth of the Humber, and established themselves along the banks of that river and on the eastern coast, thus dividing the Lœgrian territory into two portions. At length some Roman legions, led by Julius Cæsar, made a descent on the eastern part of the territory which now bears the name of Kent. On their landing they were obstinately resisted by the Lœgrian Britons, entrenched behind their chariots of war; but, through the treachery of the foreign tribes, and especially of the Coranian,⁶ the Romans soon penetrated into the interior of the island,

¹ Brytohn.

² Trioedd, &c., No. 5, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.* No. 6. *Belgæ Jul. Cæsar de Rebus Gallicis.*

⁴ Coriniaidd. In Latin, *Coritani*.

⁵ Trioedd, &c. *Archæology of Wales*, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 8, p. 58.

and gradually completed the conquest of the two countries of Loegria and Cambria. The British annals call them *Cesarians*,¹ and reckon them amongst the invaders whose stay in Britain was only temporary. "Having oppressed the island for four hundred years," say these annals, "and exacted an annual tribute of three thousand pounds of silver, they departed for the land of Rome, to repel the invasion of the black horde, leaving behind them only women and children of tender age, who all became Cambrians."²

During this stay of four centuries the Romans extended their conquest and dominion over all the southern part of the island, to the feet of the mountains which had served the aboriginal population as a rampart against the invasion of the Cambrians. The march of the Romans was arrested on the same spot where that of the former invaders had stopped; and the Galls remained free while the yoke of the men of Italy lay heavy on the ancient conquerors. This people more than once compelled the Roman eagles to give way; more than once they repulsed from their rocks and forests those whom in their national songs they called *sons of the distant land*.³

Their ancient aversion to the inhabitants of South Britain increased amidst the efforts which they made against the Italian conquerors of the southern Britons. The plunder of the Roman colonies, adorned with sumptuous temples and palaces, redoubled by its novel allurements this national hostility. The men of Alben or Caledonia⁴ passed the Clyde every spring in osier boats covered with skins; and, by their incursive warfare, forced the Romans to build at the extremities of their conquest two immense walls, defended by towers, and reaching from sea to sea.⁵ These irruptions, becoming more and more frequent, acquired for the inhabitants of Albania a terrible celebrity, under the names of *Scots* and *Picts*, which alone we find employed by the Latin authors, who seem to have been ignorant of the name of *Galls*.⁶

The first of these two names still belonged to the inhabitants of the isle of Erin, which in the Roman tongue was called indifferently *Hibernia* or *Scotia*. The fraternity of the British

¹ Cesariaidd. *Archæology of Wales*, p. 58.

² Trioedd, &c., No. 8.

³ Poems attributed to Ossian.

⁴ CALEDONIA—in British, CALYDDON—the land of forests.

⁵ Vallum Antonini. Vallum Hadriani, postea Severi.

⁶ Claudiani Laudes Stilichonis, *passim*.

mountaineers with the men of Hibernia, and the frequent emigrations of the people of each country to the other, led to this community of names. In Britain the name of *Scots* was given to the inhabitants of the north-western coast and the great archipelago, and that of *Picts* to those who dwelt in the east, on the borders of the German Ocean. The respective territories of these two nations, or distinct branches of the same population, were separated by the chain of the Grampian Hills, at the foot of which Gallawg,¹ the great chief of the forests of the north,² had fought valiantly against the legions of the Empire. The Scots and the Picts differed greatly in their way of life: the former, inhabiting the mountains, were hunters or wandering shepherds; the latter, possessing a more even soil, had a more settled establishment, cultivated the ground, and built solid habitations, the ruins of which still bear their name. When they were not confederated together for an irruption into the south, the good understanding between them was sometimes suspended; but whenever an opportunity of assailing the common enemy presented itself, their two chiefs, of whom one resided at the mouth of the river Tay, and the other between the lakes of Argyle, became brothers and joined their standards. The Britons of the south and the Roman colonists, in their terrors or their hatred, never distinguished the Scots from the Picts.³

After the retreat of the legions recalled for the defence of Rome herself against the invasion of the Goths commanded by that famous freebooter *Etel* or *Attila*,⁴ the Britons ceased to acknowledge the power of the foreign administrations who ruled their provinces and towns. The form and even the name of these administrations perished; and the authority of the ancient chiefs of tribes, formerly abolished by the Romans, rose again in their stead. Ancient genealogies, preserved in the songs of the poets,⁵ marked for the public choice the candidates for the municipal dignity of presidents of *cantons* or *families*; for in the language of the ancient Britons these words were synonymous,⁶ and the ties of kindred formed the

¹ In Latin, *Galgacus*.

² Calyddon.

³ Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, *passim*.

⁴ *Etel*, *Ethel*, *Edel*, or *Adel*, signifies, in the German tongues, *nation*, *race*, or *family*, and, by patriotic extension, *of the good race*.

⁵ Bard.

⁶ *Penteulo*—caput familiæ. ("Laws of Howell Dda"—*Cambro-Briton*, xi. p. 298.)

basis of their political organisation. Those of the lowest rank among this people traced and retained in their memories the whole line of their descent with the same care which, in other nations, was peculiar to the rich and great :¹ for it was from his own genealogy that every Briton, poor as well as rich, held the charter of his civil state, his right of property in the canton in which he was born, the soil of which was occupied by one family, by one *clan* alone, and in which no one lawfully possessed any portion of the soil if he was not of the family or clan.²

Upon this singular social order, forming in the government a federation of petty sovereignties sometimes elective, sometimes hereditary, the Britons, freed from the imperial authority, raised for the first time a high public sovereignty—a national likeness of this foreign authority: they created a *chief of chiefs*,³ a king of the country, as their annals declare,⁴ and they made him elective. This new institution, destined, in all appearance, to support the better united and therefore stronger nation, against invasions from without, became, on the contrary, a source of internal division, weakness, and speedy subjection to the foreigner. The ambition of many was inflamed by the hope of obtaining the supreme authority. Of the two great populations who shared the southern part of the island, each pretended an exclusive right to furnish candidates for the royalty of the land. The seat of this central royalty was in the country of Lœgria, in the ancient municipal town which the Britons called *Lon-din*,⁵ or *the town of ships*. Hence it resulted that men of the Lœgrian race attained more easily than others to the dignity of *chief of chiefs*. The Cambrians, jealous of this advantage, asserted that the royal authority lawfully belonged to their race alone, as the most ancient, as that which had hospitably received the others on the soil of Britain. To justify this pretension, they traced the establishment of the power which they were ambitious of exercising to a period far earlier than the Roman conquests, attributing its institution to one *Prydain*, son of Aodd, a Cambrian, who had formerly united the whole island under one monarchical

¹ Genealogiam quoque generis sui etiam de populo quilibet observat, et non solum avos, atavos, sed usque ad sextam vel septimam et ultra procul generationem, memoritur et promptè genus enarrat. (*Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerar. Wallie.*)

² Zosimus, *inter Scriptores Rerum Gallic. et Franc.*, i. 586.

³ Penteyen.

⁴ Trioedd, No. 2, p. 57.

⁵ Llun-dain; in Latin, *Londinum*.

government, and decreed that this government should be preserved by his nation, as a privileged nation, for ever.¹ By what fables the men of the south and east replied to these fables of the west we know not; but the dispute became a deadly one, and all Britain was involved in civil war by the quarrels of rivalry. The interference of the foreign settlers, constant enemies to the two great branches of the British population, fomented their dissensions and nourished the flames of intestine war under a succession of chiefs styled national, but always disowned by a part of the nation; while no army was raised, in place of the Roman legions, to guard the frontiers of the country, and observe the hostile people of Albany.

In the midst of this disorder the Scots and Picts forced the passage of the two great walls which the Romans had built to put a stop to their irruptions, and other enemies, no less terrible, devastated the coasts. These were pirates from Germany, who crossed the ocean to plunder and return, and who, when the wind blew violently, so as to compel the large vessels of Roman construction to retire into their harbours, proceeded in their fragile barks² at full sail, landing and attacking unawares. Several British tribes made great efforts separately, and fought some successful battles against the German or Gallic aggressors. The inhabitants of the southern coasts, who communicated frequently with the continent of Europe, solicited foreign aid; and once or twice Roman troops who had come over from Gaul, doubtless on the condition of being paid for their services, fought for the Britons, and assisted them to repair the walls with towers constructed by the emperors Adrian and Severus.³ But the time soon arrived when the Romans themselves were driven from Gaul, by three invasions of the barbarians, on the south, east, and north, and the national insurrection of the maritime provinces of the west.⁴ The soldiers of the Empire fell back upon Italy; and thenceforward the Britons had no Roman succours to hope for.⁵

¹ Trioedd ynys Prydain, p. 57.

² . . . cui pelle salum sulcare Britannicum
Ludus, et assuto glaneum mare findere lembo.

(*Sidonii Apollinar. Carmina, apud Script.*

Rer. Gallic. et Franc., tom. i.)

³ Gildæ Epist. de Excidio Britannicæ.

⁴ Totus ille tractus Armoricus, ejectis magistratibus Romanis. (*Zosimi Hist. inter Hist. Rer. Gallic. et Franc., i. 586.*)

⁵ Gildæ Epist. de Excidio Britannicæ.

At this time the fatal power of the supreme chief of Britain was in the hands of a man named Guorteyrn,¹ of the Lœgrian race, who repeatedly assembled round him all the chiefs of the British tribes, in order to take measures in concert with them for the defence of the country against the northern invaders. There reigned but little union in these councils; for, whether deservedly or not, Guorteyrn had many enemies, particularly among the men of the west, who would scarcely ever approve what the Lœgrian proposed. The Lœgrian, by virtue of his royal pre-eminence, with the advice of several tribes, but without the consent of the Cambrians (so, at least, they assert²), suddenly resolved to introduce into Britain a foreign soldiery, who, by subsidies in money and portions of land, should be engaged in the service of the Britons, to make war upon the Scots and Picts. About the period when this resolution was taken, a resolution which its opposers taunted with the name of cowardice, chance brought to the shores of Britain three vessels, with German corsairs commanded by two brothers named Hengst and Horsa,³ who landed in the eastern part of Kent, on the same point of land where the Roman legions had formerly disembarked.

It appears that the men of the three ships came at this time to Britain as traders, not as pirates. Their national appellation was that of *Ghetes* or *Jutes*,⁴ and their nation was leagued with a great mass of people inhabiting the marshy borders of the ocean, to the north of the Elbe, and calling themselves *Saxons*, or *short-sword-men*.⁵ Other confederacies of the same kind had already been formed among the Teutonic hordes, either the better to resist the Romans, or to act with greater advantage against them on the offensive. Thus there had appeared successively the league of the *Germans*, or *javelin-men*, that of the *Allemands*, or *men of every race*, and that of the *Franks*, or the *intrepid*.⁶ When they arrived on the coast

¹ *Guorteyrn*, according to the Cambrian orthography. The Anglo-Saxon historians write *Wyrtegern* or *Wortigern*, which, from their manner of pronouncing it, would produce the same sound.

² Trioedd, &c., in the *Cambro-Briton*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 51, 439.

³ *Chronicon Saxonum*, Ed. Gibson, p. 12. The Chronicle has it *Hengest* and *Horsa*. The Saxon *g* is always hard. *Hengst* signifies a stallion; and *Horsa* or *Hros*, a horse in general.

⁴ *Gode*—tall men. (*Wachter's Glossary*.)

⁵ *Sax*, *seax*, *sachs*, a short sword. *Hand-seax*, a dagger. *Ram-sax*, a sword. (*Gloss. Wachteri*.)

⁶ *Eall*, all; *mann*, man. *Ger*, *her*, arms, war. (*Ibid.*) *Frak*, *Frek*, *Frech*, *Vrek*, *Vrang*, brave, fierce. We find *FRACORUM Reges* on the seals of

of Britain, the Saxon chiefs Hengst and Horsa received from the British king Guorteyrn a message with the offer of a military engagement for themselves and an army of their countrymen. To them there was nothing at all strange in this proposal, for war was their trade: they promised a considerable body of troops in exchange for the small island of Tanet,¹ formed on the coast of Kent by the sea and the two branches of a river.

Seventeen ships brought the new military colony from the north: they shared their island amongst them; organised themselves, according to their custom, under the command of the two brothers who were the authors of the enterprise; and received from their hosts, the Britons, everything necessary for their support. Often did they fight valiantly and faithfully for them, and lift against the Scots and Picts the standard of the white horse, a sort of emblem corresponding to the names of the two chiefs; and often were the frail javelins of the mountaineers broken by the heavy battle-axes wielded by the men of Germany.² These exploits excited great joy in Britain, and great friendship for the Saxons: "After overthrowing our enemies," says an ancient poet, "they joined with us in the rejoicings of victory; and we rivalled one another in giving them welcome. But woe to the day when we loved them! woe to Guorteyrn and his cowardly advisers!"³

And indeed the good understanding between those who carried on the war and those for whom the war was carried on was not of long duration. The former soon demanded more territory, more provisions, and more money than had been stipulated for in the compact, and threatened to pay themselves by conquest and pillage if their demands were not satisfied. In aid of these threats they invited some fresh bands of armed men from their own nation to come and join them in Britain. They went beyond the limits fixed by treaty, and by degrees a numerous Germanic population gathered on the coast of Kent. The Britons, who feared them, yet needed their assistance, treated with them as with

the first kings of the Franks. The *n* has been introduced, *euphoniæ gratiâ*, as in many other words—*Brechen* or *Prangen*, to shine; *Kenig* or *Koning*.

¹ In British, *Danet*; now *Thanet*.

² Cum illi pilis et lanceis pugnarent, isti vero securibus, gladiisque largis. (*Henrici Huntingdoniensis Historiar.*, p. 307.)

³ *Arymes Prydain*, a national song of the Britons. (*Archæology of Wales*, and *Cambrian Register* for 1796, p. 554.)

a separate nation. Frequent messages passed between them, and new conventions were concluded and violated.¹ At length the last ties of amity were broken; the Saxons called in the Picts, against whom they had themselves been called in; and, by favour of this diversion, advanced into the interior of Britain, driving the British population before them, or forcing them to submission. The latter did not yield without great resistance: they once repulsed the Saxons to the coast, and compelled them to re-embark; but the Saxons returned with increased numbers and aggravated fury, possessed themselves of many miles of country on the right bank of the Thames, and never afterwards quitted their conquest. One of the two brothers who headed them was killed in battle;² the other, from a commander in the field, became the commander of a province;³ and his province or kingdom was called in Saxon, *Kenn-wara-rika*,⁴ or, to speak the modern language, *the Kingdom of Kent*.

Twenty-two years after the first disembarkation of the men of Germany another Saxon chief, named Ælla,⁵ brought three vessels to the south of the territory of Kent, and, driving back the Britons towards the north and west, established a second colony, which took the name of the kingdom or territory of the *South Saxons*.⁶ Eighteen years afterwards one *Kerdië*,⁷ followed by the most powerful army that had yet crossed the ocean to seek lands in Britain, made a descent on the southern coast, to the west of the South Saxons, and founded a third kingdom, called that of the *West Saxons*.⁸ The chiefs who succeeded Kerdië gradually extended their conquest to the borders of the Severn, the frontier of the Cambrian population, whom the invaders did not find disposed to give place to them; on the contrary, they maintained an obstinate struggle. During this contest other emigrants made a descent on the eastern coast, and took possession of the left bank of the

¹ Arymes Prydain.

² Horsa.

³ *Guth-Kineg, Wig-Kineg, Folkes-Kineg, Theod-Kineg, Land-Kineg*. (See the Teutonic, Gothic, and Saxon Glossaries of Wachter, Ihre, and Edward Lye.)

⁴ In the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Cant-wara-rica*. The Saxon *c* sounds like *k*. (*Henrici Huntingdoniensis Hist.*, pp. 307-311; *Bedæ Presbyteri Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 15; *Welsh Archæology*, p. 156.)

⁵ *Al, Ælla, Eall*, all.

⁶ *Suth-seaxna-rica*.

⁷ The root of this proper name is unknown.

⁸ *West-Seaxna-rica*, or more shortly, *West Seax*.

Thames and the great city of Londin or London: the territory in which they established themselves they styled that of the *East Saxons*.¹ All these conquests were made solely at the expense of the country of Logria and the race of the Logrian Britons, who had invited the Saxons to come and dwell amongst them.

From the moment that London was taken, the kings and generals in chief chosen to make head against the conquerors were all of the Cambrian race. Such was the famous Arthur, who vanquished the Saxons in several engagements; but, notwithstanding the services which he rendered to his countrymen, he, like Guorteyrn, had enemies among them. The fatal title of king caused him to draw the sword against the Britons almost as often as against the foreigner, and he was mortally wounded in a battle fought against his own nephew. He was conveyed to an island formed by the rivers near *Afallach*,² now Glastonbury, on the south of the channel which receives the waters of the Severn. There he died of his wounds; but as it was at the time when the West Saxons invaded this territory, through the consequent tumult no one knew exactly the circumstances of Arthur's death nor the place of his interment. This ignorance wrapped his name in a mysterious celebrity. His reappearance was expected long after he was no more, and the want of a great warlike chief able to overcome the Germans nourished the vain hope of one day beholding him again. This hope was lasting, and for several ages the nation which had loved Arthur was not discouraged from expecting his restoration and return.³

The emigration of the inhabitants of the marshes of the Elbe and the neighbouring islands gave a desire of emigrating, and taught the way to Britain to a people situated still further to the east, near the shores of the Baltic, and called *Anghels* or *Angles*.⁴ After essaying some petty and partial invasions of the north-east coast of Britain, the whole population of the Angles put themselves in motion, under the conduct of a warrior named Ide,⁵ and his twelve sons. Their numerous

¹ *East-Seaxna-ric, East-Seax.* (*Chronicon Saxon.*, pp. 12-30.)

² *Insula Avallonia.*

³ *Quem adhuc vere bruti Britones expectant venturum.* (*Gulielmus Neubrigensis*, an historian of the twelfth century, lib. v.) *Venturum expectant expectabuntque perenne.* (*Willelmi Britonis Philippeis*, inter *Scriptores Rer. Gallic. et Franc.*, tom. xv.) Nonnius, cap. 62. *Bedæ Presbyteri Historia.*

⁴ *Engle, Angle, Anglen.*

⁵ *Otherwise Ida, Ed, Oed, Ead, fortunate.* (*Wachter's Glossary.*)

vessels made the land between the mouths of the Forth and the Tweed. The better to assure their success against the Britons of this part of the country they entered into an alliance with the Picts ; and these confederate enemies, advancing, from east to west, struck such terror into the natives that the captain of the Angles received from them the surname of *the Firebrand*.¹ Notwithstanding his ferocity and his bravery, Ida found, at the feet of the mountains where the Clyde has its source, a population who resisted him. "The Firebrand came against us," says a cotemporary British poet ; "he asked with a loud voice, 'Will you give me hostages? Are you ready?' Owen answered, shaking his lance, 'No ; we will not give thee hostages ; we are not ready.' Then did Urien, the chief of the country, cry out, 'Children of one race, united in one cause, let us lift our standard on the mountains and rush down into the plain ; let us rush upon the Firebrand, and involve, in one carnage, him, his army, and his auxiliaries.'"²

This same Urien, at the head of the Britons of the north, descendants of the ancient emigrants from Armorican Gaul, gained several victories over the confederate invaders, and the German chief perished on the banks of the Clyde ; but a great and decisive battle between the Picts and Angles on one side, and the men of the valley of Clyde, the banks of the Forth, of Deifr and of Brynich³ (that is, of the mountainous country north of the Humber) on the other, was fatal to the British cause.⁴ Among the slain were many chiefs wearing the collar of gold, the badge of high command among the Britons, of whom few returned to their homes from this combat. "On their return," says an old poet, "they told to their wives a tale of peace ; but in vain, for the smell of blood was on their garments."⁵

The victorious people spread themselves over all the eastern country, between the Forth and the Humber. Those of the vanquished to whom the yoke of the stranger was insupportable, fled southward, into the country of the Cambrians, which had already acquired and still retains the name of *Wales*. The German conquerors imposed no new names on the northern country ; they preserved the ancient geographical

¹ Flamddwyn. (*Archæology of Wales*.)

² Taliesin. (*Ibid.* p. 58.)

³ Otherwise *Bryneich*, and *Deywr* or *Dewyr*.

⁴ Aneurin. (*Archæology of Wales*, p. 4.)

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 4-13.

denominations, and even made use of them to distinguish their different colonies, according to the place of their habitation. For instance, they styled themselves *Men of the north of the Humber*,¹ *Men of Deyfr*, *Men of Brynich*, or according to the Latin orthography, *Northumbrians*, *Deirians*, *Bernicians*. The name of *Angle-land*² was given only to a small part of the eastern coast, where some of that nation, before the general emigration, had founded a colony which, though not very numerous, was capable, through the protection of the East Saxons, to the north of whom it was situated,³ of maintaining itself against the hostility of the natives.

The ancient population of the Coranians, who had been established for ages to the south of the Humber, but whom so long a residence among the Britons had been insufficient to reconcile with them, voluntarily joined the Anglo-Saxon invaders, as they had formerly joined the Romans.⁴ Their name as a people disappeared from the country which they inhabited, but that of their allies was not substituted: both were lost; and the country between the Humber and the Thames was thenceforward called the country of *Merk*,⁵ in Latin *Mercia*, probably from its bordering on the free Britons of the west, of whom it formed the frontier or *march*,⁶ as it was termed by the Germans. They were Angles from the territories of Deiria and Bernicia, or from the eastern coast, who founded, under this name, the eighth and last German colony in Britain.⁷ The limits of the people of the marches⁸ were at first unfixed: they extended them progressively; towards the west, at the expense of the Cambrians; and towards the south, at the expense of the Saxons themselves, with whom they did not feel so closely connected by a community of origin as the Saxons were with one another.⁹

Of these eight colonies, principalities, states, or kingdoms, whichever they may be called, none had any territory on the borders of the western sea, except that of the West Saxons, which, however, did not extend north of the channel of the

¹ Northan-hymbra-menn. In Latin, *Nordanhymbri*, *Northumbri*.

² East-Engla-land, East-Englas. In Latin, *Orientalis Angli*, *Estanglia*.

³ Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonicum*.

⁴ See above, p. 17.

⁵ Myrcan, Myrcna-rice. (*Chron. Saxon.*)

⁶ *Marc*, *Merc*, *Mark*, limit. (*Wachter's Glossary*.)

⁷ There are generally reckoned only seven. There were first eight, then seven, then six, then again eight, in consequence of different revolutions.

⁸ Myrcna-menn. *Mercii*.

⁹ *Hora Britannica*, ii. 222. Trioedd, in *Archæol. Walliæ*.

Severn. Nearly the whole extent of the western coasts, from the mouth of the Clyde to the Land's End, remained in the possession of the indigenous race, and chiefly of the Cambrian Britons. The irregular form of these coasts, isolated from the great mass of this hitherto free population, the tribes in the south beyond the channel of the Severn, and in the north, beyond the Solway Firth; but betwixt these two opposite points was a long and compact space of country, though varying in breadth according to the projection of the coast. This mountainous and unfruitful territory was the dwelling-place of the Cambrians;¹ here they offered a safe though poor asylum to emigrants from every corner of Britain—to men who, say the old historians, chose rather to lead a life of hard liberty than to inhabit a fine country under a foreign yoke.² Others crossed the ocean to find in Gaul a land which their fathers had peopled at the same time with Britain, and where there still were men of their own race and language.

Numbers of British fugitives landed successively on the westernmost point of Armorica, in those cantons which, under the Romans, and even before their conquest, had been called the territories of the Osismii and Veneti. With the consent of the ancient inhabitants, who acknowledged them as brethren of the same origin, the new settlers distributed themselves over the whole northern coast, as far as the little river Coesoron, and southward as far as the territory of the city of the Veneti, now called Vannes. On this extent of country they founded a sort of separate state, comprising all the small places near the coast, but not including within its limits the great towns of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes. The increase of the population of this western corner of the country, and the great number of people of the Celtic³ race and language thus assembled within a narrow space, preserved it from the irruption of the Roman tongue, which, under forms more or less corrupted, was gradually becoming prevalent in every other part of Gaul. The name of *Brittany* was attached to these coasts, and the names of the various indigenous populations disappeared; while the island which had borne this name for so many ages now lost it, and, taking the name of its conquerors,

¹ Gwylt. Wallia. (Taliesin, *Archæology of Wales*, p. 95.)

² Miseram cum libertate vitam potius transigere, quam hostium subiecti dominio. (Johannis Fordun, *Scotorum Historia*, p. 648.)

³ *Celti*, *Kelti*, *Galati*, the name given by the Greeks to the people of Gaul.

began to be called the land of the Saxons and Angles, or in one word, *England*.¹

At the same time when the men of Britain, flying before the Anglo-Saxons, established themselves on the point of land which was called *the horn of Gaul*,² some Saxons expatriated from Germany came to settle on another point of the Gaulish coast, further to the north, in the vicinity of the town whose ancient name has been changed into that of Bayeux.³ At this time, also, the league of the Germanic people, which had for two centuries been called that of the *Franks*, or the *intrepid*,⁴ advanced in several bodies from the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse into the central provinces of Gaul. On the other side, two nations of the Teutonic race had already overrun and become settled inhabitants of all the fine provinces of the south, between the Loire and the two seas. The Goths, who took the name of the *West Goths*,⁵ occupied the country west of the Rhone, while the Burgundians⁶ held that to the east. The entrance of these two barbarous nations had been violent and accompanied by great ravages; they had forcibly usurped a part of the possessions of each native family;⁷ but the love of repose had quickly tamed their ferocity;⁸ they approached the vanquished, and tendered them the hand of peace and friendship. The Goths in particular were gained over to the Roman manners, which at that time were those of the civilised inhabitants of Gaul: their laws were literally copied from those of the Romans; and they gloried in the arts, and affected the politeness of Rome.⁹

But the northern invaders, the Franks, filled the north of Gaul with terror and devastation. They felt but an access of fury¹⁰ on beholding the great cities and colonies of the

¹ *Engel-Seaxna-land, Engla-land*—by corruption, *England*.

² *Cornu-Gallia*, the same name with that of the southern point of Britain.

³ Saxones Bajocassini, Otlinga Saxonica. (*Rerum Gallic. et Francic. Scriptores*, passim.)

⁴ See above, p. 22.

⁵ West-Gothen. In Latin, *Wisigothi*.

⁶ Burgunden, Burgundes. (*Wachter's Glossary*.)

⁷ *Tertiam partem agrorum inter se Gothi dividerunt.* (*Procopius de Bello Gothico*.) *Sortes Gothicae, hospes Burgundio.* (*Leges Wisigoth. et Burgund.*, passim.)

⁸ Blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivunt, non quasi cum subjectis sed cum fratribus. (*Paulus Orosius, inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. i.)

⁹ *Isidori Chronic. apud Rer. Gallic. Script. in notis ad Sid. Apollinaris Epist.*, tom. xvii. lib. 5. *Procopius de Bello Gothico. Sidon. Apollin. Carmina. Cassiodori Epistola*, passim.

¹⁰ *Memores injuriarum quas a Romanis pertulerant.* (*Roriconis*, lib. ii. *apud Script. Rer. Gall. et Franc.*, tom. iii.)

Romans. They detested their language, their manners, and their arts; and delighted to destroy them. Being pagans, no religious sympathy tempered their savage disposition. Sparing neither sex nor age (say the ancient historians¹), burning the churches and houses in the towns and in the country, they gradually advanced southward to invade the whole land of Gaul; while the Goths and Burgundians, impelled by like ambition, though gratifying it less barbarously, sometimes united, sometimes at war, pushed their conquests in the opposite direction. In the then weak state of the central provinces still united, though but nominally, with the Roman Empire, and profoundly disgusted with that empire (which, to use the words of an ancient Gaulish poet, *made them bear the weight of its shadow*²), there was every reason to suppose that the inhabitants of these provinces, incapable of resisting the conquering nations who pressed them on three sides, would capitulate with the least ferocious; in a word, that the whole of Gaul would submit either to the Goths or the Burgundians, who were Christians like themselves, in order to escape from the Franks. Such were the dictates of true policy; but they who ruled the destinies of Gaul decided otherwise.

These were the bishops, whether of Roman or Gaulish extraction, to whom the decrees of the emperors had assigned, in the towns and provinces, a great administrative authority,³ and who, taking advantage of the disorder into which the Roman government was thrown by the invasion of the barbarians, increased this already exorbitant power. The bishops, who at that time all took the title of *father* or *pope*, were the plenipotentiaries from the Gaulish cities both to the empire which was retiring from, and the Germans who were approaching to them. They conducted the diplomatic negotiations⁴ as they thought fit; and whether through habit or through fear, no one stood forth to contradict them; for their power was sanctioned by the bloody penal laws which disgraced the police of the declining empire.

Children of Rome, and strictly bound by the imperial ordinances to acknowledge as their common patron and head

¹ *Gesta Regum Francorum, apud Script. Rer. Gall. et Franc.*, tom. xi.

² . . . Portavimus umbram imperii. (*Sidonii Apollinaris Carmen, apud Rer. Gall. Script.*, tom. i.)

³ *Leges Arcadii et Theodosii Junioris.*

⁴ Per vos (*episcopos*) mala fœderum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta conditionesque portantur. (*Sidonii Apollinaris Epistola, apud Scriptores Rerum Gallic. et Francic.*, tom. i.)

the bishop of *the eternal city*,¹ to do nothing without his sanction, to make his decrees their laws, and his policy their rule, to model their own faith upon his, and so to contribute by religious unity to the unity of the empire, the bishops of the Gaulish provinces, though quite at liberty the moment the imperial power ceased to bear upon them, continued to act as before. Through instinct or through calculation they still laboured (as one of themselves expressed it) to retain under the authority of Rome by the bonds of religious faith those countries in which the tie of political subjection had been broken.² Their aversion or toleration for the barbarian emigrants from Germany was measured, not by the degree of barbarism and ferocity in the latter, but according to their presumed aptitude for receiving Christianity, as it was professed by the city of Rome, as it had been professed by the empire. Now, this aptitude was considered to be much greater in a people who were still pagans, than in schismatic Christians, knowingly and willingly separated from the Roman communion, as were the Goths and Burgundians, who professed the faith of Christ according to the doctrine of Arius.³ But the Franks at that time had no faith except in their battle-axes and in the hammer of the god Thor: this was sufficient to incline the hearts of the Gaulish bishops towards them, and to make all (as an almost cotemporary writer expresses it) desire the dominion of the Franks with a lover's ardour.⁴

The portion of the territory of Gaul occupied by the Franks extended from the Rhine to the Somme. The tribe which had advanced the furthest to the south and west was that of the *Sicambri*, or *sons of Mere-wig*,⁵ so called from the name of one of their ancient chiefs, renowned for his bravery and venerated by the whole people as a common ancestor.⁶ At the head of

¹ Decernimus ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum, liceat sine viri venerabilis papæ urbis æternæ auctoritate tentare; sed illis pro lege sit quidquid sanxit et sanxerit. (*Lex Theodosii et Valentiani, apud Script. Rer. Gall.*, tom. i. sub anno 449.)

² Populos Galliarum quos limes Gothicæ sortis incluserit, teneamus ex fide, et si non teneamus ex fœderé. (*Sidonii Apollinaris Epistola, sub anno 474, apud Scriptores Rerum Gallic. et Francic.*, tom. i.)

³ *Chronic. Prosperi Tyronis, sub anno 404; inter Rerum Gall. et Franc. Scriptores, tom. i.*

⁴ Cum omnes eos amore desiderabili cuperent regnare. *Gregor. Turonensis, cap. 23.*

⁵ *Mere, Mære, Mehre*, great, famous. *Wig*, warrior. *Wachter's Glossary.*

⁶ Merovicus, a quo Franci, intermisso Sicamborum vocabulo, Merovingi dicti sunt, quasi communis pater ab omnibus coleretur. *Roriconis Historia, and Chronic. Contulacense, apud Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.*, tom. iii. In the language of the Franks, *Merewings*, the termination *ing* indicating filiation or descent.

the descendants of Mere-wig was a young man named Lot-wig,¹ who was ambitious, avaricious, and cruel. The Gaulish bishops visited and addressed their messages to him; and some of them became very complaisant domestics in his household, which, in their Roman language, they styled the *royal court*.² The barbarian was at first but little sensible to their flatteries, and plundered the churches and the lands of the clergy as before; but a precious vessel carried off by the Franks from the great cathedral of Rheims attached him by the ties of interest, and soon by those of friendship, to a prelate more able or more fortunate than the rest. Under the auspices of Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, all events seemed to concur in forwarding the great plan of the priests of Gaul. First, by a marvellous chance, the pagan whom it was desired to convert to the Christian faith, married the only woman professing Christianity according to the Romish dogmas that was then to be found among the whole Teutonic race. The caresses of the believing wife (as the histories of the time express it) softened by degrees the heart of the unbelieving husband.³ In a battle fought against a German people who wished to follow the Franks into Gaul, and take a part of their conquest, Lot-wig, whose soldiers were giving way, invoked the god of Lot-hilde, his wife,⁴ and promised to believe in him on condition of his gaining the battle. He gained it, and kept his word.⁵

The example of the man in power, the presents of Lot-hilde and the bishops, and perhaps the attraction of novelty, effected the conversion of a number of the Frank soldiers, amounting, say the historians, to three thousand; but they confessed that these wished to be baptized in order to please their chief, before they knew what baptism was.⁶ The ceremony was

¹ More correctly, *Hlod-wig*. It was the custom of the Franks and Saxons to aspirate the first syllable of all words beginning with an *l* or an *r*; *hram*, for *ram*, *hloaf*, for *loaf*. This aspiration is represented by the first *ch* of the Latin word *Chlotovechus*. *Hlot*, *Hlod*, *laut*, *laud*, signifies *noted*, *celebrated*. *Wig*, warrior. *Wachter's Glossary*.

² *Aula Regia*. *Vita S. Vedesti*, *Script. Franc.*, ii. 372.

³ *Fidelis infideli conjuncta viro*. *Chronicon Aimoini*, lib. xiv. *inter Rer. Franc. Script.*, tom. iii.

⁴ *Hlod-hilde*; in Latin, *Chlotildis*. *Hild*, *held*, *kild*, *child*, a young man or woman.

⁵ *Epistola Remigii Episcopi ad Chlodowecum regem*. *Dubos, Histoire de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française*, i. 620. *Gregor. Turon. inter Script. Franciæ*, xi. 398. *Roriconis*, lib. ii. *Vita Remigii Episcopi*, *Script. Franc.*, tom. iii. p. 375.

⁶ *Roriconis*, lib. ii. *inter Rer. Franc. Script.*, tom. iii.

performed at Rheims. All which the arts of Rome, destined shortly to perish in Gaul, could yet furnish of brilliancy and splendour, was lavishly employed in decorating the triumph of the bishops: the streets were adorned with carpets; blinds of various colours, stretching from roof to roof, intercepted the glare and heat of the sun, as at the games of the circus; the pavement was strewn with flowers, and perfumes rose in abundance. The Bishop of Rheims, in vestments covered with gold, walked beside the fierce Sicamber, whom he called his spiritual son. "Father," said the latter,¹ wondering at such pomp, "is this then that kingdom of heaven to which thou hast promised to lead me?"

The news of the baptism of the king of the Franks was carried rapidly by couriers to the pope of Rome; on which letters of congratulation and friendship were addressed from the Eternal City to the chief who bowed the neck beneath her yoke;² and he, in return, sent rich presents as tributes of filial submission to the blessed Peter the apostle, the new Mars of the new Rome. From the moment that Lot-wig the Frank declared himself the son and vassal of St. Peter, his conquests in Gaul proceeded without the effusion of blood. All the towns of the north-west, as far as the Loire and the territory of the emigrant Britons, opened their gates to his forces: the bodies of troops stationed in these places passed into the service of the barbarian, keeping among his skin-clad³ warriors the arms and ensigns of the Romans. The limits of the territory or kingdom of the Franks were soon extended towards the south-east, and at the word of his pious converters the neophyte marched with hostile arms over the lands conquered by the Burgundians.⁴

The Burgundians were Arians; that is, they did not believe that the second person of the Trinity was a God like the first; but, notwithstanding this difference of doctrine, they did not in any way persecute the priests and bishops who in their towns professed the tenets of Rome. The bishops, little grateful for this generous toleration, corresponded with the Franks in order to incite them to an invasion, or at least took advantage of the dread of such an invasion to persuade the chief of the

¹ *Patrone, est hoc regnum Dei? Vita Remigii, apud Script. Rer. Fran., iii. 377. Gesta Regum Francorum, ibid.*

² *Mitis deponere colla Sicamber. Script. Fran., iii. 375.*

³ *Pellitæ turmæ. Sidonius Apollinaris.*

⁴ *Procopius de Francis, apud Script. Rer. Franc., tom. ii. Sigiberti Chronicon, ibid. iii. 336. Vita S. Remigii, apud Script. Franc., iii. 379.*

Burgundians to embrace the Roman faith, which they were pleased to call the only true, evangelical, and orthodox. This chief, named Gond-bald,¹ though a barbarian and their master, resisted them with great mildness; while they addressed him in that tone of arrogance which the representatives of ancient Rome assumed towards the foreigner, even when he was the more powerful; they called him a mad man, an apostate, and a rebel against the law of God.² "It is not so," replied he patiently. "I obey the law of God; but I will not, like you, believe in three gods. Besides, if your faith is the best, why do not your brethren in religion prove it by preventing the king of the Franks from marching to destroy us?"³

The entrance of the Franks was the only answer to this embarrassing question. Their passage was marked by murder and conflagration: they tore up the vines and fruit-trees; plundered the convents; carried off the sacred vessels, and destroyed them without scruple. The king of the Burgundians, being reduced to extremity, submitted to the conquerors, who imposed a tribute on him and all his towns, made him swear to be their future ally and soldier,⁴ and returned to their lands behind the Loire with an immense booty. The orthodox clergy called this sanguinary expedition a pious, illustrious, and holy enterprise for the true faith.⁵ "Alas!" said the old vanquished king, "can the faith dwell with those who covet the possessions of others and thirst for human blood?"⁶

The victory of the Franks over the Burgundians placed all the cities on the banks of the Rhone and the Saône under the power of the Roman Church, and the palace of St. John of Lateran, which was recovering, piece by piece, the inheritance of the old Capitol. Ten years afterwards, under the same auspices, began the war against the Goths. Lot-wig assembled his warriors round him in an extensive plain, and said to them, "It displeases me that the Goths, who are Arians, occupy the best part of Gaul: let us go, with the help of God, and drive them away; let us make their lands subject to us, for

¹ *Gond, Gund, Guth*, war, warrior; *bald*, bold. In Latin, *Gundobaldus*.

² Ex collatione episcoporum coram Gundobaldo rege. In *Append. ad Gregor. Turon. edit. Dom Ruinart*, p. 1323.

³ Si vestra fides est vera, quare episcopi vestri non impediunt regem Francorum, &c. *Gregor. Turon. edit. Dom Ruinart*, p. 1323.

⁴ Miles, homo.

⁵ Pia et veræ religionis cultrix. Francorum dominatio. *Vita S. Dalmatii*.

⁶ Non est fides ubi est appetentia alieni et sitis sanguinis populorum. *Gregor. Turon. edit. Dom Ruinart*, p. 1323. *Roriconis*, lib. iv. ex *Script. Franc.*, tom. iii.

they are excellent, and we shall do well.”¹ This proposal was pleasing to the Franks, who expressed their approbation by loud shouts, and joyfully began their march towards the good lands of the south. The terror of their approach, say the old historians, resounded from afar.² So disturbed were the people of the south by this terror, that in many places they fancied they saw dreadful signs and presages announcing calamity and invasion; at Toulouse a fountain of blood issued forth in the middle of the city, and flowed for a whole day.³ But, amidst the public consternation, there was a class of men who reckoned with impatience the days occupied by the barbarians in their march. Quintianus, an orthodox bishop of Rhodéz, was detected intriguing for the enemy; and he was not the only priest who resorted to similar practices.⁴

The Franks passed the Loire; and at the distance of ten miles from the city of Poitiers a bloody battle was fought, in which the old inhabitants of southern Gaul, the Gallo-Roman people of Aquitania and Arvernia, fought along with the Goths for the defence of their country; but their cause prevailed not against the axes of the Sicambri.⁵ All-rik,⁶ king of the Goths, was slain in this combat; and the Arvernians lost the principal men of their nation, whom, after the manner of the Romans, they styled senators. Those towns which were not taken by assault were given up through the treachery of the priests; and a greedy and savage multitude spread themselves over the country to the foot of the Pyrenees, desolating the fields and dragging the men, coupled together like dogs, behind their baggage-waggons.⁷ Wherever the victorious chief encamped, his tent was beset with the orthodox. Germerius, Bishop of Toulouse, who remained twenty days with him, eating every day at his table, received from him as presents crosses of gold, chalices and patens of silver, gilded crowns and veils of

¹ Eam nostris ditionibus subjiciamus quia valde bona est. *Gesta Regum Francor. apud Script. Franc.*, xi. 553.

² Terror Francorum resonabat. *Gregor. Turon.*, cap. 23.

³ Sanguis erupit in medio Tholosæ civitatis, Francorum adveniente regno. *Idatii Chronicon, sub anno iii. Anthemici. apud Script. Rer. Franc.*

⁴ Vito S. Quintiani, *apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, iii. 408. *Gregor. Turon. de Aprunculo Episcopo. Idem, de Theodoro Proculo et Dionysio Episcopis. Id. de Volusiano et Vero.*

⁵ Francisca, seu Francica Securis.

⁶ In Latin, *Alaricus*. *All, Eall, all*, entirely; *Rik, Ric, Rich, Reich*, manly, strong, brave, and by extension, powerful, wealthy, rich.

⁷ Captivorum innumerabilis multitudo. *Vita S. Eptadii, apud Script. Franc.*, tom. iii. More canum binos et binos insimul copulatos. *Vita S. Emicii, ibid.* iii. 428.

purple, taken from the Arian churches.¹ Another bishop, who could not go himself, but who wished to have his share of the booty, wrote thus to the Sicambrian king: "You shine in power; you shine in holiness; when you fight, ours is the triumph."²

Such was the savage dominion which, extending from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, completely hemmed in that corner of the western territory where the Britons had taken refuge. Governors from among the Franks were established in the cities of Nantes, Vannes, and Rennes. These cities paid tribute to the kings of the Franks; but the Britons refused to pay tribute, and dared to attempt alone the preservation of their little country from the common destiny of Gaul. In this bold enterprise there was so much the more danger, as their Christianity, like that of the Goths and Burgundians, differed in some points from the dogmas of the Roman Church. Having been Christians for several ages, and perhaps the most fervent Christians in the world, they had come into Gaul, accompanied by priests and monks of greater learning and better information than those of the isolated canton in which they settled.³ They purified the faith, until then very imperfect, of the ancient inhabitants of the country; they even went and preached gratuitously in the surrounding territories; and, as their missionaries presented themselves in all places without any interested view, receiving nothing from any one, not even food or drink,⁴ they were everywhere welcome guests. The citizens of Rennes chose an emigrant Briton for their bishop; and the Britons themselves instituted bishops in several of the towns in their new country where there had never been any before. They formed their religious establishment as they had formed their civil establishment, without asking the permission or the counsel of any foreign power.⁵

The heads of the Church of Brittany held no intercourse with the prelates of Frank Gaul, nor did they repair to the councils of the Gauls convoked by the rescripts of the Frank

¹ Quingenta siclos, et cruces aureas, et calices argenteos, cum patenis et tres coronas inauratas, et totidem pallia per aras ex bysso. *Vita S. Germerii Episcopi Tolosani, ibid.* 381.

² Cumque pugnatis, vincimus. *Epistola Aviti, Viennensis Episcopi, ex appendice ad Greg. Turon.* p. 1322. *Vita Eptadii Episc. apud Script. Franc.* tom. iii. *Roriconis Historia, ibid.* *Vita S. Cæsarii Arelatensis Episcopi.*

³ *Histoire de Bretagne, par Dom Lobineau, Benedictin,* i. 7-13.

⁴ Trioedd ynys Prydain. *Cambrian Biography,* p. 85.

⁵ *Hist. de Bretagne, par Lobineau,* i. 7, 8.

kings. This conduct soon drew upon them the hatred of their neighbours. The metropolitan of Tours, who styled himself the spiritual head of the whole extent of country which the Romans had called the third Lyonnese province,¹ summoned the clergy of Lower Brittany, as dwelling within his ancient province, to acknowledge him as their archbishop, and to receive his commands. The Britons did not think that the imperial circumscription of the Gaulish territories had created the least obligation for them to subject their national church, transplanted by themselves from beyond the sea, to the authority of a stranger: besides, they were not accustomed to attach the archiepiscopal supremacy to the possession of any determined see, but to decree it to the most worthy among their bishops. Their religious hierarchy, vague and varying in conformity with the popular will, was not rooted in the soil, nor parcelled out by territorial divisions, like that which the kings of Byzantium instituted when they made Christianity an engine of government. The ambitious pretensions of the prelate of Tours had, therefore, no validity in the eyes of the Britons, who made no account of them: the Gaul excommunicated them; but still they gave themselves no concern, nor could they feel any regret at being deprived of the communion of foreigners from whom they had already separated themselves.²

But the orthodox church of Gaul, irritated by this resistance, soon made upon them a more dangerous war. The tribe of Saxons, still pagan, who were settled near their territory,³ became objects of the tender solicitude of the bishops and priests, who eagerly exerted themselves, not so much to convert these barbarians to Christianity as to prevent them from being converted by the Britons, against whom it was hoped that they might, in case of necessity, be made to serve as auxiliaries. "Watch the Saxons with care; the insidious Briton is laying snares for them," wrote a poet of that day to Felix, Bishop of Nantes.⁴ Thanks to the vigilance of Felix and his colleagues, the Saxons were kept pure from all friendship with their neighbours the rebels against the sacerdotal power, and therefore fit to be let loose like blood-hounds against them. They were employed on this noble

¹ Lugdunensis Tertia.

² *Hist. de Bretagne, par Lobineau*, pp. 8-13.

³ See p. 22.

⁴ *Insidiatores removes, vigil arte Britannos. Fortunati Curmina, Rerum Gallic. Script.*, tom. ii.

service in an expedition commanded by the Frank king Hilp-rik;¹ but nearly the whole of them were cut in pieces by the Britons on the banks of the Vilaine.

More than once did this little people, in punishment of their religious independence, sustain similar attacks from the powerful chiefs of the conquerors of Gaul. Every year, when the Frank kings assembled round them in grand council the captains of their provinces, those who in their language were called *Grafs*,² and whom the Gauls styled *Counts*,³ the Count of the frontiers of Brittany⁴ was interrogated respecting the religious faith of the Britons. "They believe not in the true tenets," the Frank would reply; "they follow not the straight line."⁵ War, therefore, was voted against them by unanimous acclamation; and an army assembled in Germany and the northern part of Gaul marched towards the mouth of the Loire. Priests and monks quitted their books and laid aside their gowns to follow, with swords in their hands and baldricks on their shoulders, the soldiers of whom they were the laughing-stock.⁶ After the first battle that was gained the victor published, from his camp on the rivers Ellé or Blavet, manifestoes⁷ concerning the tonsures of the clerks and the lives of the monks in Brittany, enjoining them to follow in future the rules laid down by the Roman Church, which, in imitation of the Roman Empire, took the title of Universal.⁸

All the differences of opinion and practice between the Britons of Gaul and the orthodox church they had in common with the people of the same race who continued to inhabit the island of Britain. The most important point in their schism was their refusing to believe in the original degradation of our nature and the irremissible damnation of infants dying without baptism. The Britons thought that, to become better, man has no need of a supernatural grace to come and enlighten

¹ In Latin, *Chilpericus*. *Hilp*, *Hulf*, help, helping; *Rik*, strong, powerful.

² *Graf*, *Grav*, *Græf*, *Geref*, *Gerefa*, governor, prefect.

³ *Comites*.

⁴ Comes Marchiæ Britannicæ. Britton-Mark-Graf.

⁵ *Avia curva petunt*. *Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen de Hludovico imperatore—apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, vi. 50 et seq.

⁶ *Cede armis, frater*. *Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen*, *ibid.* p. 53.

⁷ *Cum de conversatione monachorum illarum partium, sive tonsione interrogassemus*. *Diploma Hludovici pii imperatoris*.

⁸ *Catholica*. *Diploma Hludovici Imperatoris*. *Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau, pièces justificatives*, ii. 26. *Gregorius Turonensis*, lib. v. *inter Script. Franc.*, ii. 250. *Ibid.* in nota ad calcem pagine.

him gratuitously; but that his own will and reason, duly exercised, are sufficient to elevate him to moral good. This doctrine had been preached from time immemorial in the poems of the Celtic bards. A Christian priest born in Britain, and known by the name of *Pelagius*, carried it into the eastern churches, and made himself famous by his opposition to the Roman dogma of the guilt of all mankind, ever since the fault of their first parent. Having been denounced to the imperial authority as an enemy to the official belief, he was banished from the Roman world¹ by a decree of Honorius and Theodosius, and sentences of proscription were passed against his disciples. The inhabitants of the island of Britain, being already separated from the empire, escaped these persecutions, and were at liberty to believe in peace that no man is born a sinner; they were only visited sometimes by orthodox missionaries, who strove by simple persuasion to bring them over to the tenets of the Roman Church.

At an early period of the Saxon invasion there came into Britain two preachers named Lupus and Germain of Auxerre. These men combated the Pelagian doctrines, not by logical arguments, but by texts and quotations. "How," said they, "can it be maintained that man is born without original guilt, when it is expressly written, *I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me?*"² This sort of proof was not without its power over some gross intellects; and Germain d'Auxerre succeeded in restoring in Britain some degree of what the orthodox called *the honour of divine grace*.³ It must be said, to the credit of this man, that his preaching to the Britons was the consequence rather of his own personal zeal and conviction than of a mission from the Pontifical authority. He gave proof of this by marching at the head of his proselytes against the conquering Saxons, whom he repulsed, to the war-cry of *Alleluia!* raised by his whole troop.⁴ It was otherwise that the accredited agents of the Universal Church acted towards the pagans, as the British race themselves were shortly to find by experience.

At the time when the Anglo-Saxons had just completed the conquest of the finest part of the island of Britain, the place of bishop or pope of Rome was filled by one ably zealous for

¹ Romano procul orbe fugati, et ab aspectu urbium diversarum. *Chron. Prosperi Tyronis, inter Script. Rer. Gallic.*, tom. i.

² *Beda Presbyteri Historia. Henrici Huntingdon. Historia*, p. 329.

³ *Bed. Presb. Hist.*, iii. 10.

⁴ Victoria alleluistica. *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 126-154.

the increase of the new Roman Empire which was rising under the name of Christ. This man, named Gregory, laboured successfully to draw closer and closer round his apostolic see the links of the sacerdotal hierarchy created by the policy of the Emperors. The Frank kings, the orthodox chiefs of still demi-pagan¹ armies, were the great allies of Gregory; and their far-dreaded battle-axes sanctioned his pontifical decrees. When he thought fit to impose on the bishops of Gaul new laws of subordination to himself or the vicars of his choice, he addressed his ordinance to the *glorious* personages Hild-berht and Thiod-berht,² charging them to have it executed by their *royal force*, and to punish the refractory.³ Flatteries, excessive even to absurdity; the epithets of *most illustrious*, *most pious*, and *most Christian*; with the sending of some relics to be worn on the neck in battle, were the cheap remuneration from the Roman pontiff for the good offices of the barbarian king.⁴

A similar alliance with the chiefs of the conquerors of Britain was an early object of Gregory's ambition; and he soon formed the design of converting the Anglo-Saxons to the Roman faith, and enrolling them, like the Franks, among the vassals and lictors of the papal sovereignty. The poor Christian Britons, defeated and dispossessed, disturbed not the plans of the Roman, nor did they attempt against their pagan enemies any of those preachings which the Church of Rome called insidious when they proceeded not from her; their resentment against foreign usurpation, and the care of their personal safety occupying their whole thoughts, left them neither the will nor the leisure to contract any tie of fraternity with their conquerors.⁵

Gregory, therefore, had a clear field for his operations; and, to prepare his enterprise, he ordered search to be made in the various slave-markets, for young men of the Anglo-Saxon race, seventeen or eighteen years old,⁶ of whom his agents made

¹ Ita christiani sunt isti barbari, ut multos priscae superstitionis ritus observent, humanas hostias atque impia sacrificia divinationibus adhibentes. *Procopius, sub anno 540, inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, ii. 38.

² In Latin, *Childebertus, Theodebertus*. *Hild, Held*, young man, warrior, hero; *berht, breht, briht*, bright, brilliant. *Thiod. Diet*, a people, a great number, a chief; and by extension, greatly, much.

³ *Epistola Gregorii ad Childebertum, apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, iv. 16.

⁴ Quæ collo suspensæ, a malis omnibus vos tueantur. (*Epistola Gregor. Papæ ad Childebertum, apud Script. Franc.*, iv. 17.)

⁵ *Epistolæ Gregorii Papæ, passim.*

⁶ *Gregorii Papæ epistola ad Candidum Presbyterum, apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. iv.

monks, as others would have made labourers : their compulsory task was, to learn the orthodox tenets by rote, so as to become capable of teaching them in their native tongue. It seems that most of these missionary heroes were refractory in the service to which it was wished to train them ; for Gregory, soon relinquishing his whimsical expedient, determined to send Romans to the conquest of the Anglo-Saxon souls. At the head of this mission was Augustine, who was consecrated and entitled beforehand *Bishop of England*. His companions followed him with great zeal as far as the town of Aix ;¹ but, having arrived there, they were frightened at their undertaking, and wished to retrace their steps. Augustine set out alone to ask of Gregory in their name the favour of being exempted from this perilous journey, the issue of which, amongst a people of whose language they were ignorant, was, said he, nothing less than certain :² but the Pope would not consent ; "it is now too late," said he, "to recede ; you are on the way, and must go."³ The missionaries were all monks of a convent attached to the pontifical household, and had sworn obedience, therefore they obeyed. They went first to Chalons, where dwelt Thiod-rik,⁴ the son of Hild-berht, and king of half the eastern part of the country conquered by the Franks ;⁵ and afterwards to Metz, where Thiod-berht, another son of Hild-berht, reigned over the other half.⁶

The Romans presented to these two chiefs letters full of adulation, the grossness of which proved how mean an opinion the Roman pontiffs entertained of the intellects of their barbarous allies, and how highly they rated their vanity. Gregory knew that the Franks were at war with their northern neighbours, the Saxons of Germany ; and, relying on this fact, did not hesitate to style the Saxons beyond sea, whom his monks were going to convert, subjects of the Franks. "I thought," wrote he to the two sons of Hild-berht, "I thought that you must ardently desire the happy conversion of your subjects to the faith which yourselves profess, you who are their masters and their kings ; therefore it was that I determined to send

¹ Aqua Sextia.

² *Opera Gregorii Papæ*, iv. 55.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ In Latin, *Theodoricus*. Thiod, greatly ; rik, brave, mighty.

⁵ *Oster-franken-rike*, Ost-rike, Oster-liet, Oster-land. In Latin, *Austria*, *Austria*, *Austrasia*, *regnum orientale*.

⁶ *Epistola Gregorii Papæ*, apud *Rer. Franc. Script.*, tom. iv.

Augustine the bearer of the presents, with other servants of God, to labour under your auspices.”¹

The mission also delivered letters to the grandmother of the two young kings, the widow of Sig-berht,² father of Hild-berht, an intriguing and ambitious woman, who, under the names of her two sons, governed the half of Gaul. She was of the Gothic nation, then driven, to make way for the Franks, beyond the Pyrenees. Before her marriage she had borne the name of *Brune*, which in the German language had the same signification as in our own modern tongues; but the Frank who made her his wife, wishing, say the historians, to adorn and lengthen her name, called her *Brune-Hilde*, that is, *the brown girl*.³ She was at first an Arian, but became a Roman Catholic. The priests who had re-baptized and instructed her rivalled one another in lauding the purity of her faith; and declared her a saint beforehand, notwithstanding the crimes which she perpetrated each day, crimes almost incredible in their number and atrocity. “We pray you, whose zeal is ardent, whose works are precious, and whose soul is strengthened by the fear of the Almighty,” wrote Gregory to this woman, “to aid us in a great work. The nation of the English has made known its ardent desire to receive the faith of Christ, and we wish this desire to be satisfied.”⁴ The Frank kings and their grandmother gave themselves little concern about gratifying this ardent desire of the Anglo-Saxon people, or reconciling it with the terrors and repugnance of the missionaries; they, however, received the mission, and defrayed the whole of its expenses on the way. Near the sea the chief of the West Franks,^b though at war with his eastern relatives, received the missionaries no less graciously than they had done, and permitted them to take men of the Frank nation as interpreters between them and the Saxons, who spoke nearly the same language.⁶

By a favourable chance it happened that one of the most

¹ Subjectos vestros. . . . reges et domini. *Opera Gregorii Papæ*, ii. 834.

² In Latin, *Sigebertus*. *Sig*, *Sieg*, *Sige*, victory, victorious; *berht*, bright.

³ In Latin, *Brunichildis*. Ad nomen ejus ornandum et augendum. *Gregor. Turon. inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, ii. 405.

⁴ Anglorum gentem velle fieri christianam. *Gregorii Papæ Operum*, ii. 835. Prona in bonis operibus . . . in omnipotentis Dei timore, excellentiæ vestræ mens firmata est. *Ibid. et Script. Rer. Franc.*, iv. 18-22.

⁵ *Wester-franken-rike*, *West-rike*. In Latin, *Westricum*—by corruption, *Neptricum* or *Westria*—by corruption, *Neustria*—*regnum occidentale*.

⁶ Naturalis ergo lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis. *Wilhelmi Malms. Hist.*, p. 25. *Bedæ Presbyt.*, iii. 23.

powerful of the Anglo-Saxon chiefs, Ethel-berht,¹ King of Kent, had just before married a Frank woman of the Catholic religion. The news of this event raised the courage of Augustine's companions; and they landed with confidence on the same point of the island of Thanet, which was already famous for the disembarkation of the ancient Romans, and of the two brothers who had opened for the Saxons the way to Britain. The Frank interpreters repaired to Ethel-berht, to announce the arrival of men who had come from afar off, to bring him glad tidings, and the offer of an endless reign, if he would believe in their words.² The Saxon at first gave no positive answer, only ordering the strangers to stay in the isle of Thanet until he should have determined how to act respecting them. It may well be supposed that the believing wife of the unbeliever³ did not remain idle during this interval; but that every effusion of domestic tenderness was employed to make the pagan favourable towards the monks of Rome. He consented to hold a conference with them; yet, through some remaining distrust, he could not resolve to receive them in his house, nor in his royal city, but went to meet them in their island of Thanet, where still he would have the interview take place in the open air, to prevent the execution of any ill design, in case the strangers had any such against him.⁴ The Romans, with studied pomp, marched in a file to the place of meeting, preceded by a silver cross and a picture of Christ. They then stated the object of their journey, and made their proposals.⁵

"These are fine words and fine promises," replied the pagan king; "but, as all this is quite new to me, I cannot immediately put faith in it, and abandon the belief which I possess in common with my whole nation: however, since you have come so far to communicate to us what you seem to me to consider as useful and true, I shall not use you ill, I shall furnish you with lodging and provisions, and shall leave you to publish your doctrine and persuade whom you can."⁶

The monks repaired to the capital town, called the city

¹ Or *Æthel-byrht*, *Æthel-briht*. *Æthel*, patriotic, noble; *berht*, *byrht*, bright, brilliant.

² *Nuncium ferre optimum, æterna in cœlis gaudia, et regnum sine fine. Henrici Huntingdoniensis Hist.*, p. 321.

³ See above.

⁴ *Ne, si quid maleficæ artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. Henrici Huntingdon. Hist.*, p. 321.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Bedæ Presbyt.*, lib. i. cap. 25. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 321 *et seq.*

of the men of Kent, in Saxon, *Kent-wara-byrig*,¹ and entered it in procession, carrying their cross and their picture, and singing litanies. They soon had proselytes; a church, built formerly by the Britons, but abandoned since the Saxon conquest, served them for the celebration of the Mass: they impressed the imaginations of the people by their great austerities; they even performed miracles; and the sight of these prodigies gained them the heart of King Ethel-berht, who had at first appeared to apprehend some sorcery from them.

When the chief of Kent had received baptism, the new religion became in that province the road to favour; and many hurried into that road, although, as the historians say, Ethel-berht would not compel any one.² As a pledge of his faith he gave houses to his spiritual fathers, and endowed them with lands: these were, in all countries, the first remuneration claimed by the Roman priests, converters of the barbarians: "I entreat thy greatness and munificence," said the priest to the royal proselyte, "to give me a portion of land, with all its revenues, not for myself, but for Christ; and to yield it by solemn act of cession; that, in return, thou mayst acquire a great number of possessions in this world, and a still greater in the next." To which the king replied: "I confirm to thee the property, without reserve, of all the domain attached to my exchequer, in order that it may be thy country, and that thou mayst cease to be a stranger amongst us."³

Augustine took the title of Bishop of Kent, as a conqueror adorns his name with that of the land he has conquered. The mission extended its labours beyond the limits of the Kentish territory,⁴ and, through the contagion of example, obtained some successes among the East-Saxons, whose chief, named Sig-berht,⁵ was a relative of Ethel-berht. Pope Gregory learned with exceeding joy that he had vassals in Britain. "The harvest is great," said Augustine in his despatches; "the labourers are no longer sufficient."⁶ On the arrival of these tidings, a second band of missionaries set out from Rome, with letters of recommendation addressed to the

¹ Or *Cant-were-byrig*—by corruption, *Canterbury*.

² *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist. Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 321 *et seq.*

³ *Vita S. Mæculfi Abbatis, apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, iii. 425. *Diplomata*
et Append. ad Gregor. Turon.

⁴ *Kent-wara*, or *Cant-ware*. In Latin, *Cantuarii*.

⁵ See p. 42, the name of a king of the Franks.

⁶ *Bedæ Presbyt. Historia*, lib. i. cap. 26.

bishops of Gaul, and a sort of diplomatic note for Augustine, the great plenipotentiary of the Roman Church in Britain. The note addressed to Mellitus and Laurentius, the heads of the new mission, was couched in these terms:—

“You will tell him” [Augustine] “that, after grave and mature deliberations on the affairs of the English people, I have settled in my mind several important points. In the first place, care must be taken not to destroy the temples of the idols: only the idols must be destroyed; then holy-water must be made, the temples must be watered with it, altars must be built, and relics placed upon them. If these temples be well built, it is good and useful that they should pass from the worship of demons to the service of the true God. So long as these ancient places of devotion shall exist, the nation will be disposed, through the force of habit, to repair to them for the worship of the true God.”¹

“Secondly,—It is said to be the custom of the men of this nation to sacrifice oxen. This custom must be changed into a Christian solemnity; and on the days of the dedication of their temples turned into churches, as well as of the feasts of the saints whose relics shall be there deposited, they shall be allowed, as formerly, to build their huts of boughs round these same churches, to assemble there, and to bring their animals, which shall be killed by them, no longer as offerings to the devil, but as Christian banquets in the name and to the praise of God, to whom they shall render thanks when they have satisfied their hunger. By reserving something for men’s outward joy, you will the more easily lead them to relish internal joy.”²

Mellitus and Laurentius delivered to Augustine, with these instructions, the decoration of the *pallium*, or pontifical mantle, which, according to the ceremonials of the Roman Church, borrowed from the Roman Empire, was the visible and official sign of the right of authority over bishops. They brought, at the same time, the plan of an ecclesiastical constitution, prepared beforehand at Rome, to be applied to the country of the English, in a measure corresponding with the extension of the converted territory and the domains of the spiritual conquest. According to this scheme Augustine was to ordain twelve bishops, and to fix in the city of London, when it should become Christian, the metropolitan see, of which all

¹ *Henrici Huntingdon. Historia*, p. 323.

² *Ibid. Scriptores Rerum Franc.*, iv. p. 30.

the other sees were to be held. In like manner, as soon as the great northern city, called in Latin *Eboracum*, and in Saxon *Ever-wic*,¹ should have received Christianity, Augustine was to institute a bishop there, who, in his turn, receiving the *pallium*, was to become the metropolitan of twelve others. This future metropolitan was to depend on Augustine, during the life of the latter; but, under Augustine's successors, was to hold of Rome alone.²

Thus were renewed, under other forms, those partitions of provinces, conquered or to be conquered, which in anterior ages had so frequently occupied the senate of the City of the Seven Hills. The see of the first archbishop of the Saxons was not established in London, as directed by the papal instructions; but, either the better to please the new Christian king of Kent, or to observe more nearly and be better prepared to combat any inclination to return to ancient customs, Augustine fixed his residence in the city of Canterbury, and in the very palace of Ethel-berht. Another Roman missionary was established simply as a bishop in London, the capital of the East-Saxons; and a third in *Rofes-ketter*, now Rochester, between London and Canterbury.

The metropolitan and his two suffragans had the reputation of performing miracles. The rumour of their prodigious works was soon spread in Gaul; and Pope Gregory eagerly availed himself of this intelligence to revive in the hearts of the Frank kings the love and fear of Rome.³ But, although he turned the fame of Augustine to advantage, it was not without jealousy that Gregory perceived that fame increasing, and his subaltern agent (as he himself expressed it) erected into a rival of the apostles.⁴ There exists an ambiguous letter, in which the Pope, not daring to express all that he thought, seems to warn Augustine not to forget his rank and his duty, but modestly to relax in the exercise of his supernatural powers.⁵

"On learning," says Gregory, "the great wonders which it has pleased our God to work by your hands in the eyes of the nation which He has chosen, I rejoiced; for external prodigies

¹ Or *Eofer-wic*—by corruption, *York*.

² *Bedæ Presbyt. Historia*, ii. p. 34. *Gregorii Papæ Epistolæ*, p. 1163. *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. p. 259.

³ *Epistolæ Gregorii Papæ ad Brunichildem, ad Theodoricum, ad Chlotarium*, *apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, iv. pp. 30-33.

⁴ Ut apostolorum virtutes, in signis quæ exhibet, imitari videatur. *Epist. Greg. Pap. inter ejus Opera*, p. 928.

⁵ *Ibid.*

are efficacious in inclining souls towards internal grace: but do yourself take heed that your spirit does not grow proud and presumptuous; take heed that what raises you to outward consideration and honour does not prove the occasion of your inward fall, through the love of vainglory.”¹ These counsels were not without a motive; the ambitious character of Augustine had already revealed itself to his patron. Not satisfied with his dignity of metropolitan among the English, he had already coveted a more flattering, and at the same time a more lucrative supremacy over a people who had long been Christians. In one of his despatches to Rome there was this brief and peremptory question: “How must I act towards the bishops of Gaul and the bishops of the Britons?”² “As for the bishops of Gaul,” returned Gregory, somewhat startled at the demand, “I have not given, nor do I give thee any authority over them: the prelate of Arles has received from me the *pallium*; I cannot deprive him of his dignity: he is the head and the judge of the Gauls; and it is forbidden thee to put the scythe of judgment in another’s field.”³ But the bishops of the British race I confide wholly to thee; teach the ignorant, strengthen the weak, and chastise the bad, at thy pleasure.”⁴

The enormous difference which the Roman pontiff thought fit to establish between the Gauls, whom he defended against the pretensions of Augustine, and the Cambrians, whom he abandoned to him, will be understood when it is recollected that the Cambrians were schismatics. These unfortunate remains of a great nation, enclosed in one corner of their ancient country, had lost all (says one of their old poets),⁵ but their name, their language, and their God. This God was the same as that of the Romans, one in three persons, the rewarder and the avenger; but not, as Rome asserted, visiting the sins of the father on his posterity; nor, in His blind justice, condemning poor infants dying at their entrance into life, when their understandings are yet unborn, before their eyes have

¹ Ne animus in sua præsumptione se eleve, et unde foris per honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. p. 38.

² Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum et Britannorum episcopis agere? *Gregor. Papæ Opera*, p. 1158.

³ Falcem judicii mittere non potes in alienam segetem. *Gregor. Papæ Epistolæ, inter ejus Opera*, p. 1158.

⁴ Britanniarum autem omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur. *Bedæ Hist.*, ii. 27.

⁵ Taliesin, *Archæology of Wales*, i. 95.

seen or their mouths have spoken. The Britons had no faith in these things which Rome asserted to be true, perhaps without herself believing in them; moreover, they observed in their forms of worship certain national practices differing from those of the Romans. Their Easter was not fixed precisely at the same period; their monks were not habited, nor the heads of their priests shaven, in the same manner; and, above all, their monks were more laborious than the Catholic rules ordained. No one was received into the British convents unless he knew some art or trade;¹ the religious of each convent were divided into two bodies, who alternately remained at home to pray, and went abroad to work.² The Britons had bishops; but they were, during the greater part of their time, without any fixed see: they dwelt, like true pastors, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; and their archbishop, chosen by themselves, likewise lived, indifferently, at Ker-Leon³ on the Usk, or at Menew,⁴ now St. Davids. This archbishop, independent of all foreign authority, neither received nor solicited the pallium. These were unpardonable offences in the eyes of those priests of Rome who were so tolerant towards the pagan sacrifices. This was sufficient cause for Pope Gregory to acknowledge none of the British bishops as religious authorities, but to deliver them up to the tutelage and correction of his servant Augustine.⁵

Augustine, by an express message, communicated to the clergy of the vanquished people of Britain the order to acknowledge him as their sovereign archbishop, on pain of incurring the anger of Rome and the anger of the Saxons. That he might demonstrate to the Cambrian priests the legitimacy of his imperious demand, he assigned them a conference on the banks of the Severn, the limit between their territory and that of the conquerors. The meeting was held in the open air, under a large oak.⁶ Augustine required the Britons to reform their religious practices according to the usages of

¹ *Ars unicuique dabatur, ut ex opere manuum quotidiano se posset in victu necessario continere. Vita S. Winwalæi, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne, ii. 25.*

² *Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 232.*

³ Or *Caër-Lleon*.

⁴ Or *Mynyw*. In Latin, *Menevia*.

⁵ *Inter alia innumerabilium scelerum facta. Bedæ Presbyt. Hist., p. 21. Trioedd ynys Prydain, Cambro-Briton, ii. 170. Horæ Britannicæ, ii. 213-232. Ibid. 78-86.*

⁶ This tree was long after called *Augustine's Oak*. In Saxon, *Augustines ac. Bedæ Hist., ii. 45.*

Rome; to be obedient to him; and to employ themselves, under his direction, in converting the Anglo-Saxons. In aid of his studied harangue, he set before them a man of Saxon birth, who he pretended was blind, and restored him to sight.¹ But neither the Roman's eloquence, nor his miracle, had power to terrify the Cambrians and make them abjure their old spirit of independence. But Augustine was not to be discouraged. He appointed a second interview, which was complaisantly attended by seven British bishops and a great number of religious men, chiefly from the great monastery of Bangor,² situated in North Wales, on the banks of the Dee.

The proud Roman disdained to rise from his seat on their approach; and this mark of pride wounded them at the very first. "We will never acknowledge," said those among them who were appointed to speak, "we will never acknowledge the pretended rights of Roman ambition, any more than those of Saxon tyranny. We owe to the Pope of Rome, as to all Christians, the submission of fraternal charity; but as for the submission of obedience, we owe it only to God, and after God, to our venerable superior the Bishop of Ker-leon on the Usk. Besides, we ask, why have those who boast of having converted the Saxons, never reprimanded them for their violences against us and their usurpations over us?"³

Augustine's only answer was a definitive summons to the Welsh priests to acknowledge him as their archbishop, and to assist him in converting the Germans in Britain. The Welsh replied unanimously that they would never be connected by the ties of friendship with the invaders of their country, so long as they should not have restored what they had seized unjustly; and that, as for the man who would not rise before them when he was but their equal, they would never make him their superior.⁴ "Well!" exclaimed the Roman in a menacing tone, "if you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war with enemies; since you refuse to teach, with me, the way of life to the Saxon nation, that nation shall shortly come to teach you the way of death."⁵

¹ Oblatus est quidem de genere Anglorum luce privatus. *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, pp. 45, 46.

² Or *Ban-chor*, the great choir, the great church.

³ From a Breton manuscript, quoted in the second volume of the *Horæ Britannicæ*, pp. 267, 268.

⁴ Si modo nobis assurgere noluist, quanto magis, si ei subdi cæperimus, nos pro nihilo contemnet. *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. 47.

⁵ Si nationi Anglorum noluissent viam vitæ prædicare. *Ibid.*

A short time only had elapsed when the chief of an Anglo-Saxon tribe, who still were pagans, came down from the north country, towards the very spot where the conference had been held. The monks of Bangor, remembering Augustine's threat, quitted their convent in great consternation, and fled to the army which was assembling under the chief of the Welsh province of Powis. This army was defeated; and in the rout which ensued, the pagan conqueror observed a troop of men singularly habited, without arms, and all kneeling. He was told that they were the people of the great monastery, praying for the safety of their countrymen. "If they are crying to their God for my enemies," replied the Saxon, "then they fight against me, though without arms;"¹ and he ordered them all to be massacred, to the number of two hundred. The monastery of Bangor, the chief of which had spoken in the fatal interview with Augustine, was utterly destroyed; "and thus," say the ecclesiastical writers, "the prediction of the holy pontiff was accomplished, and the wretches who had disdained the offer of eternal salvation were chastised."² Several ages after this sanguinary expedition there were friends of the Roman Church who blushed for her being concerned in it, and in several manuscripts falsified the original historian's account, so as to make it appear that Augustine was dead at the time of the battle with the Britons and the massacre of the monks of Bangor.³ Augustine was old at that period, but he lived at least a year after the military execution which he had predicted.⁴

On the death of Augustine, Laurentius, likewise a Roman by birth, became archbishop in his room. The Romans Mellitus and Justus were bishops, the one at London and the other at Rochester: the former had gained over to Christianity Sig-berht, the relative of Ethel-berht, and king of the East Saxons. The newly converted chiefs, in proof of their Christian fervour, raised and decorated altars in honour of Pope Gregory;⁵ and conferred honours and dignities on the

¹ Si adversum nos ad Deum suum clamant, profecto et ipsi, quamvis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant. *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. 47.

² Ut temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverant. *Ibid.*

³ Quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore, ad cœlestia regna translato. *Bedæ Hist.*, p. 47. It is the opinion of Goodwin and Dr. Hammond that these words have been interpolated. *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 371.

⁴ Completum Augustini præsagium. *Bedæ Hist.*, ii. 47.

⁵ In medio, altare in honorem B. Gregorii papæ dedicatum. *Ibid.*

Roman priests. But this was not of long duration. The fervent kings were succeeded by others either indifferent or indisposed towards the new worship. When the two sons of Sig-berht (familiarily called *Sæ-berht*) had laid their father in the tomb, they returned to paganism, which they had quitted to please him, and abolished all the prohibitory laws which the late chief had created against the old national religion; but, as they were of a mild character, they did not at first persecute either Bishop Mellitus or the small number of true believers who persisted in listening to him; they would even go to the Christian church, as a kind of idle pastime, or, perhaps, through some secret distrust.

One day, when the Roman was administering to the faithful the communion of the Eucharist, "Why," said one of the young chiefs to him, "dost thou not offer to us as well as to the rest this white bread which thou gavest to our father Sæb?"¹ "If," answered the bishop, "you would be washed in the font of salvation as your father was washed, you, like him, would have your share in this holy bread." "We will not enter the font; we have no need of it; yet we desire to be refreshed by the bread."² They renewed this whimsical demand several times, the Roman constantly repeating that he could not accede to it. Imputing his refusal to obstinate ill-will, they became angry. "Since," said they, "thou wilt not gratify us in so easy a thing, thou shalt go out of our country."³

He and his companions were driven away from London and went into Kent, where they found Laurentius and Justus themselves disgusted with the indifference and the little love towards them shown by the successor of Ethel-berht. They all came to the determination of passing over into Gaul. Mellitus and Justus set out together. Laurentius, on the point of following them, resolved to make one last effort to change the mind of the King of Kent, on which, it appears, the Christianity of the country depended. The last night which he was to pass among the Saxons, the Roman caused his bed to be prepared in the church of St. Peter, built at

¹ A kind of diminutive form, which the English still make use of in proper names.

Quare non et nobis panem nitidum porrigis? *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. 51.

² Nolumus fontem illum intrare, quia nec illo opus nos habere novimus, sed tamen pane illo refici volumus. *Ibid.*

³ Si non vis assentire nobis in tam facili causa quam petimus, non poteris jam in nostra provincia demorari. *Ibid.*

Canterbury by the old king.¹ In the morning, he went out of the church, all beaten, bruised, and covered with blood; and in that condition went to Ed-bald,² the son of Æthel-berht. "Behold," said he, "what Peter has done to me for having thought of quitting his flock."³ The Saxon was struck at this spectacle, and trembled lest he should himself incur the vengeance of this Peter, who chastised his friends so unmercifully. He invited Laurentius to remain, and recalled Justus, and promised to employ his power in re-converting the apostates. Thanks to the assistance of the temporal arm, the faith was revived on both banks of the Thames, never more to be extinguished. Mellitus succeeded Laurentius in the archiepiscopal see; Justus succeeded Mellitus; and Ed-bald, King of Kent, who would have driven them all away, was complimented by the Pope of Rome on the purity of his faith, and the perfection of his Christian works.⁴

A few years after these events, a sister of Ed-bald, named Æthel-burghe,⁵ was married to the pagan chief of the country north of the Humber. The bride departed from Kent, accompanied by a priest of Roman birth, named Paulinus, who had been before anointed Archbishop of York, according to Pope Gregory's plan, and in the hope that the faithful wife would win over the infidel husband. The King of Northumbria,⁶ named Ed-win,⁷ allowed his wife Æthel-burghe to profess the Christian religion under the auspices of the man whom she had brought with her, and whose black eyes and brown visage were objects of wonder to the fair-haired inhabitants of the north.⁸ When Ed-win's wife became a mother, Paulinus gravely announced to the Saxon king that he had obtained for her the favour of a birth without pain, on condition that the child should be baptized in the name of Christ.⁹ In the overflow of his paternal joy, the pagan granted all that his wife desired, but would listen to no proposal of being baptized

¹ *Jussit in ecclesia stratum sibi parari. Bede Hist.*, ii. 51.

² Or *Æd-bald*, *Rad-bald*. *Ed*, *Rad*, fortunate; *bald*, bold.

³ *Propterea quod Dei gregem esset relicturus. Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson.*

⁴ *Bede Hist.*, ii. 51. *Henrici Huntingdon.*, p. 326.

⁵ Or *Æthel-byrg*. *Æthel*, noble; *burg*, burgh, burh, byrg, berg, security, protector, protectress.

⁶ Northumbria. In Saxon, *Northan-hymbra-land*, or *North-humber-land*, the country north of the Humber.

⁷ Or *Rad-win*. *Ed*, fortunate; *win*, beloved, also conquering.

⁸ *Vir longæ stature, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macillenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu. Bede Hist.*, p. 66.

⁹ *Quod precibus suis obtinuerit ut regina pareret absque dolore. Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 327.

himself: he showed no displeasure towards the converters, but reasoned with and often embarrassed them.¹

To produce in him a relish for things celestial, through the attraction of earthly things, a letter was sent from Rome by Pope Boniface, addressed to *the glorious Ed-win*. "I transmit to you," wrote the Pontiff, "the benediction of your protector, the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, *that is to say*, a linen shirt embroidered with gold, and a mantle of fine Ancona wool."² Ethel-burghe likewise received, as a proof of Peter's benediction, a gilt ivory comb and a silver mirror.³ These gifts were accepted; but they did not move the resolution of King Ed-win, whose reflecting mind could be overcome only by a strong moral impression.⁴

There was an extraordinary adventure in the life of the Saxon, the secret of which he thought he had kept from all men; but it had probably escaped him in the confidence of the nuptial bed. In his youth, before he was king, he had been in great danger from enemies who desired his death. Having fallen into their hands with but little hope of deliverance, his heated imagination represented to him in a dream an unknown person, who, approaching him gravely, said, "What wouldst thou promise to him who should be able and willing to save thee?" "All that shall ever be in my power," answered the Saxon. "Well," rejoined the unknown, "if he who could save thee were only to require of thee to live according to his counsels, wouldst thou follow them?" Ed-win swore to do so; and the apparition, stretching out one hand, and placing it upon his head, said to him, "When such a sign shall again appear to thee, remember this moment and these words."⁵ By great good fortune Ed-win escaped from his perils; but the recollection of his dream was profoundly engraven on his mind.

One day, when he was alone in his apartment, the door opened, and he saw a figure, moving slowly and solemnly, like that in the dream, which approached him, and, without pronouncing a single word, placed its hand upon his head. This was Paulinus, to whom the Holy Ghost (according to the

¹ Quid ageret discutiebat, vir natura sagacissimus. *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 327.

² Id est, camisiam unam. *Ibid.*

³ Id est, pectinem eburneum auratum. *Ibid.*

⁴ *Bedæ Hist.*, ii. 58.

⁵ Cum ergo hoc tibi signum advenerit, memento hujus temporis et sermonis. *Bedæ Hist.*, p. 62. *Henric. Huntingd.*, p. 327.

ecclesiastical historians ;¹ but, according to all probability, the believing wife of the unbelieving husband) had revealed the infallible means of overcoming his obstinacy. The victory was complete : the Saxon, seized with stupor, fell with his face to the floor ; and the Roman, now become his master, kindly raised him up. Ed-win promised to be a Christian ; but, unshaken in his good sense, he promised for himself only, saying that his subjects would of themselves perceive what they ought to do.² Paulinus requested him to convoke the great council which was called together by the Germanic kings on all important occasions, and was attended, under the name of *ancients*,³ or *wise men*,⁴ by the magistrates, the great possessors of land, the warriors of high rank, and the priests of the gods. Ed-win laid before the assembled sages the motives of his change of belief ; and, addressing each one of the assembly, asked what they thought of this (to them) new doctrine.

The first who spoke was the chief of the priests. "My opinion," said he, "is that our gods have no power ; and it is founded on this : There is not a man amongst the whole people who has served them with greater zeal than I have ; nevertheless, I am far from being the richest and most honoured among the people ; therefore my opinion is, that our gods have no power."⁵ A chief of the warriors then rose, and spoke as follows :—

"Thou mayest recollect, O king, a thing which sometimes happens in the days of winter, when thou art seated at table with thy captains and thy men-at-arms,⁶ when a good fire is blazing, when it is warm in thy hall, but rains, snows, and blows without. Then comes a little bird and darts across the hall, flying in at one door and out at the other : the instant of this transit is sweet to him, for then he feels neither rain nor storm ; but that instant is fleeting ; the bird is gone in the twinkling of an eye ; and from the winter he passes to the winter again.⁷ Such to me seems the life of man on this earth ; such its duration of a moment compared with the length of the time that precedes and follows it. This time is dark

¹ *Bedæ Hist.*, ii. 62.

² *Quid eis videretur. Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, p. 62.

³ *Elder-menn*, or *Ealdor-menn*, Seniores.

⁴ *Witan*, *Weisen*, Sapientes. The assembly was called *Wittena-gemote*, sapientum conventus.

⁵ *Unde nil valere Deos probavi. Bedæ Hist.*, ii. 62.

⁶ *Mid. Thinum*, *Ealdermannum*, and *Thegnum. Saxon Translation of Bede's History.*

⁷ *Of wintra. . . In winter cometh. . . Ibid.*

and comfortless to us; tormenting us by the impossibility of knowing it. If this new doctrine can teach us anything a little clear and certain respecting it, then it is fit that we follow it."¹

When the other chiefs had spoken, and the Roman had laid down his tenets, the assembly, voting as for the sanction of national laws, solemnly renounced the worship of the ancient gods. But, when the missionary proposed that they should destroy the images of those gods, there was not one among the new converts who felt sufficiently firm in his conviction to brave the dangers of this profanation, excepting only the high-priest, who asked the king for arms and a horse that he might violate the laws of his order, which forbade all priests to wear the warlike habit or mount any animal but a mare.² With a sword at his side, and brandishing a javelin, he galloped up to the temple; and, in the sight of the whole people, who thought he had lost his senses, struck the walls and the images with his lance. A wooden building was then erected, in which King Ed-win and a great number of men were baptized.³ Paulinus, having thus conquered in reality the episcopacy of which he had before held only the title, travelled over the countries of Deiria⁴ and Bernicia, baptizing in the waters of the Swale and the Glen such as were eager to obey the decree of the assembly of the wise.⁵

The political influence of the great kingdom of Northumbria drew to Christianity the population of the East Angles, inhabiting the country south of the Humber and north of the East Saxons. The Roman bishops of the south had already preached to these people; but the two religions were still so equally balanced among them that their chief, named Redwald,⁶ had erected two altars in the same temple, one to Christ and the other to the Teutonic deities, and prayed to each alternately, making, perhaps, like one of the ancient kings of Denmark, sometimes the sign of the cross, and sometimes that of the hammer of Thor.⁷ Thirty years after the conversion of the people on the banks of the Humber, a woman of

¹ *Henrici Huntingdon. Hist.*, p. 328.

² *Accepto equo admissario, cum pontifici idolorum non liceret nisi super equam equitare. Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 328.

³ *Baptisatus in domo lignea. Scriptores collecti à Selden.*, ii. 1634.

⁴ By corruption, instead of the Cambrian *Deywor* or *Deifr*. See p. 27.

⁵ *Wittena-gemote. Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 328.

⁶ Or *Ræd-weald*. *Red*, word, counsel, counsellor; *Wald*, *Weald*, *Walt*, powerful, governing.

⁷ *Thor, Ther, Thier*, the fierce, the strong. *Gloss. Wachteri. Script. Kerum Danicarum coll. à Longebek. Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 287.

that country converted the chief of the marches extending from the Humber to the Thames. The Anglo-Saxons who kept their ancient worship the latest were those of the southern coasts, who did not renounce it until the close of the seventh century.¹

Eight Roman monks were successively archbishops of Canterbury, before that dignity, instituted for the Saxons, was held by one of the Saxon race.² The successors of Augustine did not relinquish the hope of compelling the Cambrian clergy to bow to their authority, but continued to heap summonses and messages upon the Welsh priests. They even extended their ambitious pretensions to the priests of the island of Erin, who were as independent as the Britons of foreign supremacy, and so zealous for the Christian faith that their country was called the Island of Saints. But this merit of sanctity was null in the eyes of the Roman colonists, who had succeeded in planting themselves on that part of Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons. It was not Christianity—it was slavery, which they cherished in others. To the men of Erin they sent messages full of pride and bitterness: “We, deputies from the apostolic see to the western regions, once foolishly believed in your island’s reputation for sanctity; but we now know, and can no longer doubt, that you are no better than the Britons.”³ Of this the journey of Columban into Gaul, and that of one Dagammon in Britain, have fully convinced us: for, amongst other things, this Dagammon, passing through the places where we dwelt, has refused, not only to come and eat at our tables, but even to take his meals in the same house with us.”⁴

The crimes of the other Hibernian were of a different nature, and deserve to be related. Columban, or, more precisely, Columb, had commenced his career as a Christian preacher, by crossing the lakes of North Britain in an open boat covered with skins, to visit, in the name of Christ, the savage race of the north-west mountaineers.⁵ No Christian woman was there, to seduce a pagan husband; Columb had no purple-bordered tunic nor mantles of fine wool to offer

¹ *Scriptores editi à Seldeno*, ii. 1634. *Henrici Huntingdon. Hist.*, p. 328 *et seq.*

² Berht-wald, or Briht-weald.

³ Nihil discrepare a Britonibus. *Beda Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. 47.

⁴ Non solum cibum nobiscum, sed in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere noluit. *Ibid.*

⁵ Gaëls, Gwyddils. See p. 16.

in the name of St. Peter: he was poor, was often repulsed, and frequently in danger of death.¹ He founded no bishoprics, nor ever styled himself bishop; he only established on a rock of the Hebrides² a school and a convent of men poor and laborious like himself. After converting, by his own exertions alone, many of the Scots and Picts, he repaired with his companions to Gaul, to preach to the wood-cutters and goat-herds of the Vosges. The men of Erin stopped at the feet of the mountains, among the ruins of an ancient village, called in Latin *Lusuvium*, and in the vulgar tongue *Lusen*.³

This place formed part of the territory of Thiod-rik, king of the East Franks, who, being attracted by the public rumour, came to visit the strangers and request their prayers. Columb, unused to address and to manage the powerful, remonstrated severely with his visitor on his morals, and the licentious life which he led among debauched women, so that the royal race of the Franks was no longer propagated except in infamous places.⁴ These reproaches were less displeasing to the king than to his grandmother, that same Brune-hilde, in whom Pope Gregory had discovered inexhaustible treasures of sanctity and divine grace,⁵ and who, to maintain her influence over her grandson, dissuaded him from marriage, and was careful to furnish him with women of pleasure and beautiful slaves. At the instigation of this orthodox queen, an accusation of heresy in the first degree was preferred in a council of bishops, against the man who had dared to show himself more nice than the Roman Church respecting the morality of barbarous potentates: he was condemned by a unanimous sentence, and, with his companions, banished from Gaul. From this sentence, perhaps, it was, that the Roman bishops of Saxon Britain judged that the Christianity of the inhabitants of Hibernia was of a suspicious nature, and needed to be purified by their lessons and reformed by their power.⁶

The same Church which expelled from Gaul the enemies to the vices of the Frank kings gave blessed crosses for

¹ *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 302.

² The island of Hy or Iona.

³ *Henrici Hunting. Hist.*, p. 380. *Muller, Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, i. 159. *Horæ Britannicæ*, pp. 302-308.

⁴ *Ut regia proles ex lupanaribus videretur emergere. Fredegarii Scholastici Chron., inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, iii. 424.

⁵ *Epistola Gregorii Papæ ad Brunichildem, apud Script. Franc.*, iv. 20-34.

⁶ *Fredegarii Scholast. Chron., Script. Rer. Franc.*, iii. 427. *Hist. de Bretagne, par Dom Lobineau*, i. 32.

standards to the Saxon kings when they went to exterminate the old Christians of Britain.¹ The latter, in their national piety, charge a part of their disasters on a foreign conspiracy, and on monks whom they call unjust.² In their conviction of this malevolence of the Roman Church towards them they grew still firmer in the resolution of rejecting her tenets and her empire; they chose rather to apply, and did actually apply, several times to the church of Constantinople, for counsel in their theological difficulties. The most renowned of their ancient sages, who was both a Christian priest and a bard, cursed in his verses the negligent shepherd who kept not God's flock from the wolf of Rome.³

But the Romans, thanks to the terror of the Saxon hatchets, gradually subdued the independent spirit of the schismatic churches of Britain. In the eighth century a bishop of northern Cambria began to celebrate the festival of Easter on the days prescribed by the Catholic councils; the other bishops resisted the innovation; and, on the rumour of this dispute, the Saxons made an irruption into the southern provinces, where the opposition had manifested itself.⁴ To avert the evils of a foreign war and the ravage of his country, a Welsh chief strove to sanction by his authority the alteration of the ancient religious customs; but this attempt irritated the public spirit to such a degree that the chief was slain in a revolt. This spirit, however, became gradually weaker; and Rome, at length, had vassals in Wales.⁵

Her Saxon vassals returned, a hundred-fold, the presents they had received from her; and the benedictions of Peter the apostle were paid for by an annual revenue. The successors of the old pirate chiefs, Hengst, Horsa, Kerdîë, Ælla, and Ida, decked in Latin or Greek titles, which the Roman priests taught them to join to their names,⁶ and, instead of battle-axes, bearing truncheons with gilded heads, no longer ranked above all others the exercises of war.⁷ Their ambition was to have about them, not large bodies of brave men like their

¹ *Bedæ Presbyt. Hist.*, ii. 73.

² *Horæ Britann.*, ii. 290.

³ Cattawg. *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 277.

⁴ Extracts from Caradoc of Llancarvan, a Welsh historian. *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 367.

⁵ *Horæ Britan.*, ii. 317-320.

⁶ Rex, Imperator, βασιλεὺς.

⁷ Exercitiam armorum in secundis ponentes. *Willelmus Malmesburiensis*, p. 101.

fathers, but large convents of the Benedictine order, the most in favour with the popes. They often cut their own long hair to devote themselves to seclusion; and, if an active life kept them amid the affairs of this world, they accounted the consecration of a monastery as one of the great days of their reign. Such an event was celebrated with all the pomp of a national solemnity.¹ The chiefs, the bishops, the warriors, and the sages were assembled; and the king, surrounded by his family, sat in the midst of them. When the newly built walls had been washed with holy water, and consecrated under the names of the blessed Peter and Paul, the two favourite saints of the orthodox, the Saxon king rose, and said with a loud voice:²—

“Thanks be to the most high God, that I have been able to do something in honour of Christ and His holy apostles. All you who are here present, be witnesses and sureties of the donation made by me to the monks of this place, of the lands, marshes, ponds and streams hereafter mentioned. It is my will that they hold and possess them entirely and royally,³ so that no tax shall be levied upon them, nor the monastery be subject to any power on earth, except that of Rome; for it is there that those among us who cannot go to Rome will seek and visit St. Peter. Let those who succeed me—my sons, my brothers, or whosoever they may be—preserve this gift inviolate, as they would share everlasting life—as they would be saved from everlasting flames. And whoever shall take anything from it, may he who stands at the gate of heaven take from his portion in heaven: he who shall add anything to it, may he who stands at the gate of heaven add to his portion in heaven.”⁴ The king then took the roll of parchment containing the act of donation, and traced a cross upon it; and after him, his wife, his sons, his brothers, his sisters, the bishops, the public officers, and all the personages of high rank, successively inscribed the same sign, repeating this formula: “I confirm it by my mouth and by the cross of Christ.”⁵

This good understanding between the Anglo-Saxons and the

¹ Jussit indiceri per totam nationem, omnibus Thanis, Episcopis, Comitibus, omnibusque qui Deum diligerent, et constituit diem quo monasterium consecraretur. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 35.

² *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 35.

³ Adeo regaliter, adeoque libere. *Ibid.*

⁴ Quicumque nostrum munus diminuerit, diminuatur ejus pars cœlestis, janitor in regno cœlorum. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, pp. 35-38.

⁵ *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, pp. 35-38.

Church of Rome, or rather the subjection of the former to the latter, was not of very long duration. The spell of imagination grew weaker, and the shame of dependence became gradually felt. While some kings bowed their heads before the representatives of that Peter who opened and shut the door of heaven,¹ there were others who openly rejected the yoke of the foreigner, plausibly disguised under the name of the Christian faith.² In this contest the priests of the Saxon race—the spiritual children of the Romans—declared at first for Rome;³ but afterwards, borne away by the torrent of national opinion, they aimed at being no longer subject to the ultramontane church, except in those fraternal duties which the British Christians had offered to render her, and which, in her name, they had so rudely disdained.⁴ Then did the English become, in the eyes of Rome, what the Cambrians had been; she was their violent enemy, and leagued herself with their enemies. She encouraged foreign ambition against them, as she had encouraged their own ambition against the native population of Britain. She furnished their invaders with the same banners of the cross which she had given them to display; she promised, in the name of St. Peter, their goods and their bodies to whoever would conquer their country; and, since they had ceased to be her tributary subjects, she endeavoured to make them slaves to those who would pay her tribute.

The detail of these posterior events and their consequences will occupy the greater part of this history, devoted, as its title imports, to the recital of the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon people. But upon these events it is yet too soon to enter. The reader's imagination must be suffered yet a while to dwell on the Germanic race victorious, and the Celtic race vanquished—on the white flag of the Saxons and Angles repulsing further and further to the west the red flag of the Kymrys, and lowered before no foreign standard.⁵ The Anglo-Saxon limits, continually encroaching on the west, after being extended northward to the rivers Forth and Clyde, were narrowed on that side at the end of the seventh century. The Scots and Picts,

¹ Sanctus Petrus cum clave aperiat ei regnum cœlorum. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 38.

² *Eddici Vita Wilfredi Episcopi*, i. 61.

³ *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 329-347.

⁴ See page 49.

⁵ The national poetry of the Cambrians fantastically designates these two hostile flags by the names of *Red Dragon* and *White Dragon*.

being attacked by Eg-frith,¹ King of Northumbria, skilfully drew him into the defiles of their mountains; defeated him; and, after their victory, advanced to the south of the Forth, as far as the river Tweed, on the banks of which they then fixed the frontier of their territory. This limit, which the men of the south never after removed, has from that day marked the new line of separation between the two parts of Britain.² The tribes of the Anglian race inhabiting the plains between the Forth and the Tweed were, by this change, incorporated with the population of the Scots and Picts, or the *Scotch*, which soon became the sole name of this mixed population, and from which the modern name of their country was formed.

At the other extremity of Britain the men of Cornwall, isolated as they were, long struggled for independence, supported by the succours which they occasionally received from the refugees of Armorica:³ at last, however, they became tributary to the West Saxons. But the men of Wales never became so. "Never," say their old poets, "no, never will the Kymrys pay the tribute; they will combat, even unto death, for the possession of the lands washed by the Wye."⁴ And this river was the final boundary of the Saxon dominion. The last chief who extended it was a king of the Marches named Offa.⁵ He crossed the Severn, and the chain of mountains which may be called the Apennines of South Britain, and had until then protected the last asylum of the vanquished. At the distance of nearly fifty miles west from the mountains Offa constructed, in place of the natural boundary, a long rampart with a trench, extending from the course of the Wye to the valley of the Dee.⁶ There was established, for ever, the frontier betwixt the two races who, in unequal portions, conjointly inhabited all the southern part of the old island of Prydain, from the Tweed to the Land's End.⁷

On the north of the channel of the Dee, the country enclosed by the mountains and the sea, had, half a century before, been subjugated by the Angles and depopulated of ancient Britons. The fugitives had reached either the great

¹ *Eg, Ecg*, lasting, eternal; *frith, frid, fred, fried*, peace, peaceful.

² See page 15. *Picti terram suam cujus partem tenebant Angli, recuperaverunt.* *Bedæ*, lib. iv. cap. 26. *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 336.

³ *Caradoc of Llancarvan.* *Horæ Britannicæ*, ii. 366.

⁴ *Arymes Prydain.*—*Cambrian Register* for 1796, p. 554.

⁵ *Offa, Offo, Obbo*, mild, element. *Gloss. Wachter.*

⁶ In the Cambrian tongue, *Clandh Offa*. In English, *Offa's Dyke*.

⁷ *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 407.

refuge of Wales, or the angle of mountainous land washed by the Firth of Solway. In this latter region they long after preserved a sort of savage liberty, distinguished from the English race, even in the English language, by their old name of Cambrians; and this name has remained attached to the country which they made their asylum.¹ Beyond the plains of Galloway, in the deep valleys of the Clyde,² some small British tribes, which, favoured by their position, had preserved their freedom in the midst of the Anglian people, held out in like manner against the Scots and Picts, when the latter had conquered all the low lands of Scotland, to the valley of Annan and the Tweed. This last remnant of the purely British race had for their capital and fortress a town built upon a rock, now called Dumbarton.³ Some traces are to be found of their independent existence so lately as the tenth century; but from that period they ceased to be distinguished by their ancient national name, having either been suddenly annihilated by war, or insensibly confounded with the mass of the surrounding population.

Thus disappeared from the whole island of Britain, excepting only the small and barren country of Wales, the race of the Celts, Cambrians, Lœgrians, and Britons, properly so called, of whom part had emigrated directly from the eastern extremities of Europe, and part had come into Britain, after a stay, longer or shorter, on the coast of Gaul.⁴ These feeble remains of a great people had the glory of keeping possession of their last corner of territory, against the efforts of an enemy immensely superior in numbers and resources; often vanquished, but never subjugated, and bearing through the course of ages the unshaken conviction of a mysterious eternity reserved for their name and their language. This eternity was foretold by the bards of the Welsh, from the first day of their defeat:⁵ and whenever, in after times, a new invader crossed the mountains of Cambria, after the most complete victories his captives would repeat to him: "'Tis all in vain; thou canst destroy neither our name nor our language."⁶ Fortune, bravery, and above all, the nature of the country, formed of rocks, lakes, and sands, justified these

¹ It is called *Cumber-land*—in the old Saxon, *Cumbra-land*.

² Ystrad-Ciwyd.

³ Or *Dun-briton*. They called it *Alchwyd*.

⁴ See p. 16, and following.

⁵ Taliesin. *Archæology of Wales*, i. 95.

⁶ See Book XI. of this History.

predictions, which, though rash ones, are a remarkable evidence of vigorous imagination in the little people who dared to make them their national creed.

It is hardly too much to say, that the ancient British *fed* on poetry; for in their political axioms which have been handed down to us, the bard, at once poet and musician, is placed beside the labourer and the artisan, as one of the three pillars of social life.¹ Their poets had one great and almost only theme—their country's destinies, her misfortunes, and her hopes. The nation, poetical in its turn, extended the bounds of fiction by ascribing fantastic meanings to their simplest words. The wishes of the bards were received as promises, their expectations as prophecies; even their silence was made expressive. If they sang not of Arthur's death, it was proof that Arthur yet lived: if the harper undesignedly sounded some melancholy air, the minds of his hearers spontaneously linked with this vague melody the name of some spot rendered mournfully famous by the loss of a battle with the foreign conquerors.² This life of hopes and recollections gave charms, in the eyes of the later Cambrians, to their country of rocks and morasses: though poor, they were gay and social,³ bearing the burden of distress lightly as some passing inconvenience, looking forward with unabated confidence to a great political revolution, by which they should regain all that they had lost, and (as one of their bards expresses it) recover the crown of Britain.⁴

Days, years, ages passed away; but, notwithstanding the predictions of the bards, the former country of the Britons returned not to the possession of their descendants. If the foreign oppressor was vanquished, it was not by the nation which might claim that victory as a right. He was subdued by other strangers from beyond the ocean, who, in their turn, imposed on him the same hard yoke of conquest which he had himself imposed; but neither his defeats nor his enslavement were of any advantage to the refugees in Wales. The recital of the misfortunes of the Anglo-Saxon people, subjugated and oppressed by a people of different language and origin, is now to be commenced. That race of men,

¹ *Trioedd ynys Prydain*, Sect. 21, No. i.

² *Morfa Rhuddlan*, Rhuddlan marsh. See Book IV. of this History, year 1070.

³ *Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerarium Walliæ*, passim.

⁴ Taliesin. *Archæology of Wales*, i. 95. *Arymes Prydain*. *Ibid.* pp. 156-159. *Myrddhin's Afallenau*. *Ibid.*

therefore, will now claim the interest of the historian, for it will be the suffering race; in the same manner as the suffering race of the Britons has interested him in the preceding pages. This is a privilege acquired by every nation, by every generation, of human beings, from the moment that another generation, having neither the claims of justice to enforce nor the rights of nature to vindicate against the former, but whom the mad passion for rule, the thirst of gain, or the caprice of hate has called to arms, rise and march over the bodies of men who have never marched over those of their forefathers. Without being the less impartial, and without in any degree perverting the truth of facts, we may be allowed to pity the fate, in past ages as well as in the present, of men and of nations become victims of injustice and violence. This is no more than is due to equity and humanity; and if the unfortunate are sacred to their cotemporaries, they are equally so to history.

BOOK II

ANGLO-SAXON HISTORY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

FOR more than a century and a half, nearly the whole of south Britain had borne the English name, and the word *British* or *Welsh*, in the language of its Germanic possessors, had signified *serving* or *tributary*¹—when some men of an unknown country came in three vessels, and landed at one of the ports on the eastern coast. The Saxon magistrate of the place,² in order to learn whence they came and what they wanted, went down to the beach: the strangers allowed him to approach, and surrounded him; then, suddenly falling upon him and his escort, they killed them, plundered the neighbouring habitations, and hastily re-embarked.³

Such was the first appearance in England of the northern pirates called Danes⁴ or Normans,⁵ according as they came from the islands of the Baltic Sea, or from the mountainous coast of Norway. They descended from the same primitive race with the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks, and even spoke a language intelligible to these two nations. But this mark of ancient fraternity preserved from their hostile incursions neither Saxon Britain nor Frank Gaul, nor even the ancient country of the Franks, the territory beyond the Rhine, where no sounds proceeded from any human mouth but those of the Germanic idiom. The conversion of the Teutonic nations of the south to the Christian religion had broken every sort of tie between them and the Teutons of the north. The man of the north, in the eighth century, still gloried in the title of *son of Odin*,⁶ and treated the Germans who were sons of the

¹ *Wealh*, a slave, a domestic. *Horse-wealh*, a groom. *Gloss. apud Scriptores ed. à Gale.* Si servus Waliscus Anglicum hominem occidat. *Leges Juc. Chron. Joan. Brompton*, p. 767.

² *Gerefa*—*graf* in the Frank dialect. See Book I. p. 38.

³ *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*, p. 343.

⁴ In Latin, *Dani*. *Dænen*, *Dæna*, *Dænisca*.

⁵ In Latin, *Normanni*. *North-menn*, *North-mathra*, men of the north. This is the ancient national name of the Norwegians.

⁶ *Othin*, *Ethen*, *Woden*, *Wodan*. This word is thought to be derived from the word *Otte*, *Ëtte*, *Atte*, signifying *father*. *Wachter's Glossary*.

Church as bastards and renegades, making no distinction between them and the people they had conquered, but whose God they adored. Franks or Gauls, Long-bards¹ or Latins—all were alike hateful to the man who had remained faithful to the ancient divinities of Germany; all alike were to be plundered or dragged into slavery. A sort of religious fanaticism and patriotic puritanism were thus allied in the souls of the Scandinavians with their disorderly spirit and insatiable thirst of gain. They were particularly fond of the blood of the priests and the gold taken from the churches; and would lodge their horses in the chapels of the palaces,² when they had wasted with fire and sword some canton of the Christian territory. "We have sung the mass of lances," they would say in derision; "it began at the rising of the sun."³

Favoured by an easterly wind, the Danish and Norwegian boats with two sails arrived in three days off the southern coast of Britain.⁴ The soldiers of a whole fleet generally obeyed one only chief, whose vessel was distinguished from the rest by some peculiar ornament. The same chief still commanded when the pirates had disembarked and were marching in battalions on foot or on horseback. He was saluted by the Germanic title of *king*:⁵ but he was king only at sea and in the combat; for, in the festive hour, the beer-horn passed from hand to hand, without distinction of first or last. The *king of the sea*, or the *king of the battle*,⁶ was everywhere faithfully followed and always zealously obeyed; for he was always renowned as the bravest of the brave—as he who had never slept beneath a roof, nor ever drained the bowl on a sheltered hearth.⁷

¹ In Latin, *Longo-bardi*. *Lang-beards*, *Long-barts*, men carrying long partisans.

² Clerici et monachi crudelius damnabantur. *Script. Rer. Norman.*, 10. Capella regis equos suos stabulant. *Chronicon Hermannii contracti inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. iv. p. 246.

³ Altoni odda messo. *Lodbrog's Quida*. *Viresius*, p. 456. *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, tom. i. p. 374. *Ibid.*, tom. iv. p. 26. *Annal. Bertiniani*, apud *Script. Rer. Francic.*

⁴ Triduo, flantibus Euris, vela penduntur. *Script. Rer. Dan.*, tom. i. p. 236.

⁵ *Kong*, *Koning*, *Kineg*, *Konig*, *King*, from *Ken*, learning and power—the most learned, the most powerful. In Latin, *Rex*, *Rector*, *Dux*, *Ductor*, *Profectus*, *Consul*, *Centurio*, signifying a *chief* in general. The first of the captains sometimes bore the title of *Konga*, *Kong*, chief of chiefs, king of kings. *Ihre*.—Gloss. *Saxo-Gothic*.

⁶ *Sæ-kong*, *Her-kong*, *Siæ-konung*, *Her-konung*, *See-kyng*, *Here-kyng*; or *Wig-kong*, *Wig-kyng*, from *Wig*, warrior, war, battle.

⁷ Qui sub tigno fuligineo nunquam dormiebat, in regis maritimi titulo merito dignus videbatur. *Inglinga Saga*.

He could govern a vessel as the good horseman manages his horse, running over the oars while they were in motion. He would throw three javelins to the mast-head, and catch them alternately in his hand, without once missing.¹ Equal under such a chief, supporting lightly their voluntary submission, and the weight of their coat of mail, which they promised themselves would soon be changed for an equal weight in gold, the pirates held their course gaily, as their old songs express it, along the track of the swans.² Often were their fragile barks wrecked and dispersed by the north-sea storm—often did the rallying sign remain unanswered; but this neither increased the cares nor diminished the confidence of the survivors, who laughed at the winds and the waves from which they had escaped unhurt. “The force of the storm,” they would sing, “is a help to the arms of our rowers; the hurricane is in our service; it carries us the way we would go.”³

The first great army of Danish and Norman corsairs which directed its course towards England landed on the coasts of Cornwall; and the ancient inhabitants of that country, reduced by the English to the hard condition of tributaries,⁴ joined the enemies of their conquerors, either in the hope of regaining some small portion of their liberty, or simply to gratify the passion of national revenge. The men of the north were repulsed, and their allies remained under the yoke; but, shortly afterwards, other fleets brought the Danes to the eastern coast in such numbers that no force could prevent them from penetrating into the heart of England. They ascended the great rivers until they found a commodious station; there they quitted their boats, and moored them or drew them aground; then scattering themselves over the neighbouring country, they carried off all the beasts of burden, and, as the chronicles of that day⁵ express it, from marines they became horsemen. They at first confined themselves to plundering and retiring immediately, leaving only some military posts and small entrenched camps on the coasts to cover their speedy return; but soon, changing their tactics, they settled as masters of the soil and the inhabitants, driving the English population of the north-east towards the south-west, as the latter

¹ *Lodbrog's Quida. King Olaf's Saga-Chron. Sturleson's Heimskringla.*

² *Ofer swan rade.*

³ *Maximæ tempestatis procella nostris servat remigiis. Abba Floriacensis.*

⁴ *See Book I. p. 61.*

⁵ *Wurdon gehorsode. Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson, p. 142, et passim.*

had formerly driven the British population from the sea of Gaul to the opposite sea.¹

The first Scandinavian colony which planted itself in Britain took lands between the Humber and the Tyne. Its establishment destroyed the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria; the chiefs of which being killed or banished, their places were filled by Danes, while the inhabitants became serfs and tributaries to the invading army. A part of this army pursued its conquest towards the south of England. The resistance of the Anglo-Saxon people to their pagan invaders had the colour at once of patriotism and of religion. Those who took up arms communicated together on the same day, and swore by the sacred host to die for their country and the faith of Christ.² The bishops, priests, and monks marched to battle, either as chiefs or in the ranks, as volunteers.³

The Danes, advancing to Nottingham, conquered all the eastern part of the Saxon kingdom of Mercia. They then proceeded over the marches which divided this kingdom from that of the East-Angles, besieging the monasteries built on the islands in the fens, killing the monks, breaking the consecrated vessels, and opening the tombs in search of treasures.⁴ They took Ed-mond,⁵ King of Est-anglia,⁶ prisoner; and, tying him to a tree, made him a mark for their arrows. A Danish chief, named God-run,⁷ was made king in his stead. The kingdoms of the East and South Saxons and that of Kent were destroyed in the same manner; and soon the territory of the West Saxons was likewise invaded. Ethel-red,⁸ king of this latter country, was killed in battle. The assembly of warriors⁹ and sages, convoked according to the Saxon custom, chose in his place his younger brother named Elf-red,¹⁰ in preference to one of the sons of the late king. Elf-red entered into a close alliance,

¹ *Chron. Sax. Ed. Gibson*, p. 72. *Chron. Wallingford.*, *apud Script. Rer. Angl. ed. Gale.*

² *Sununo diluculo, auditis divinis officiis, et sumpto sacro viatico, omnes ad moriendum pro Christi fide patriæque defensione contra barbaros processerunt. Ingulfus Croylandensis*, pp. 865, 867.

³ *Quibus præfuit Toliis monachus conversus. Ibid. Diploma Beorredi Regis, apud eundem.*

⁴ *Ingulf. Croyland.*, p. 867.

⁵ Or *Ead-mund*. *Ed*, *ead*, happy; *mund*, guardian, protector.

⁶ *Est-Anglia*. The Latin translation of the Saxon *East-Engla-land*.

⁷ Or *Gut-run*. *God*, *Gut*, good; *run*, sentence, maxim, sacred word.

⁸ Or *Æthel-red*. *Æthel*, noble; *red*, speech, speaker, counsel, counsellor.

⁹ *Thegnas*, *Thegn*, *Degen*, *Degn*, sword, swordsman.

¹⁰ Or *Ælf-red*, *Alf-red*, *Elf*, *Ælf*, *Alf*, spirit, genius, fairy, supernatural being; *red*, counsel, counsellor.

offensive and defensive, with Buhr-red,¹ King of Mercia. They fought together for the preservation of that part of the country which yet remained free, and which was included between the river Mersey and the southern sea, as far as the bay of Portsmouth: but they could not cover so long a frontier; Mercia, already partly subdued, was soon entirely subjugated, and its chief expelled by the Danes. Of all the eight Saxon kings, there now remained only Elf-red; and of the eight kingdoms, only that of the West Saxons or West-Sex.²

Elf-red was successful in many battles against the emigrants of Scandinavia; and they would, perhaps, never have passed his frontier, had he and his people been thoroughly united: but there were between the chief and the nation germs of discord of a very peculiar nature. Elf-red had studied more things than the best-informed men of his race had any idea of; he had, when young, visited all the southern countries of Europe, had observed their manners, and was acquainted with the learned languages and the books of antiquity. From his travels and his labours the Saxon had drawn much for the cultivation of his own mind; but he had at the same time, it appears, imbibed a profound contempt for understandings less cultivated than his own. He set but little value on the skill and prudence of that national council of the wise men, whose opinion, joined with his own, constituted the law, allowing himself to believe that his own reason was better than the public will. Full of the ideas of absolute power which so often present themselves in the books of the Romans, he had a violent desire of political reforms; and conceived plans more rational, perhaps, than the Anglo-Saxon practices, but wanting a sanction in the eyes of a people who neither wished for nor understood them. Tradition has vaguely preserved some harsh and severe traits in Elf-red's government, such as several sentences of death arbitrarily pronounced against unworthy functionaries or bad judges,³ a sort of police not very agreeable to a nation which thought the life of a free man of more importance than regularity in public affairs.

Besides, this rigour of Elf-red towards the great was not accompanied by good-will towards the little. He defended them, but he loved them not. He regarded their supplications as importunities, and his gate was closed against them. "If,"

¹ Or *Beorh-red*. *Burh*, *burg*, safety, safe; *red*, as above.

² Or West-Seaxna-land, West-Seaxna-ric, West-Seax. *Ingulf. Croyland.*, pp. 167, 169.

³ Horne. *Mirror for Justices*.

says a contemporary, "his aid was sought, either in personal necessities or against the oppression of the powerful, he disdained to receive and hearken to the complaint; he lent no succour to the weak; he accounted them as nothing."¹

So that when, seven years after his election, this lettered king, become hateful without knowing or wishing it, had to repel a formidable attack made by the Danes on the western country, and called round his standard the people whom his disdain had offended, he was terrified at finding men but little disposed to obey him, and even careless about the common danger. In vain did Elf-red send through the towns and villages his messenger of war carrying an arrow and a naked sword; in vain did he publish the old national proclamation, which no Saxon capable of bearing arms had ever resisted—"Let every man that is not worthless, whether in a town or out of a town, leave his house and come."² Few men came; and the king was left almost alone, with the small number of friends whom he enchanted with his learning, and often moved to tears by the perusal of his writings.³ The mass of the people willingly accepted the epithet of *worthless men*, the greatest reproach among the Saxons.⁴ They accepted even the miseries of foreign conquest, rather than support, by defending, the chief whom themselves had elected.⁵

Favoured by these dissensions, the enemy rapidly advanced. Elf-red, deserted by his subjects,⁶ deserted them in his turn, and fled (says an old historian), abandoning his warriors, his chiefs, his ships, his treasures, and his whole people, to save his life.⁷ He sought the woods and deserts, to conceal himself, at the utmost limits of the English territory and that of the Cornish Britons, near the confluence of the rivers Tone and

¹ Ille vero noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium impendebat, sed omnino eos nihili pendebat. *Asserius Menevensis*, pp. 31, 32. *Ethelwerdi Historia*, p. 847.

² The Wære, un-nithing of porte and of uppe-land. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 195. *Nithing, Nidingr, nichtig, nictig*; in modern English, *naughty*. Nequam, nihilum. Me effæminatum armisque frigidum nihilum, vocasti. *Dudonis de Sequentino—Historia Normanorum*.

³ Ut audientibus lacrymosus quodammodo suscitaretur motus. *Ethelwerdi Historia*, p. 847.

⁴ Angli nihil miserius æstimant quam hujus modi dedecore vocabuli notari. *Mathæus Parisiensis, Variantes Suppl.*, p. 10.

⁵ *Asser.*, p. 31. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 48. *Wilhelm. Malmesburiensis*, p. 23.

⁶ Despectu suorum. *Asser. Menevensis*, p. 31. Certo suorum dissidio. *Chron. Wallingford*.

⁷ His kempen eolle forlet, and his heretogen, unde all his theode. *MSS. in the British Museum*, Vesp. D. 14.

Parret, where there was a peninsula surrounded by swamps. There were but few in the kingdom who knew what had become of him.¹ The dominion of the foreigners seemed hard to those who could not bear with patience the excessive exercise of the national power; and a great number of men embarked on the eastern coasts, to seek a refuge, either in Gaul, or in the island of Erin, which the Saxons called Ireland;² the rest submitted to pay tribute to and labour for the Danes. But it was not long before they found the evils of the conquest a thousand times worse than those of Elf-red's reign, which in the moment of suffering had seemed insupportable; and longed for their former state and the rule of the haughty king.³

Elf-red, too, reflected in his misfortunes, and meditated on the means of saving his people, if possible, and regaining their favour. Fortified in his island against a surprise from the enemy, by entrenchments of earth and wood, he led the hard and savage life reserved in every conquered country for such of the vanquished as are too proud for slavery—that of a freebooter in the woods, morasses, and defiles. At the head of his friends formed into bands, he plundered the Danes laden with spoil, and if Danes were wanting, the Saxon who obeyed the foreigners and saluted them as his masters.⁴ Such as were tired of the foreign yoke, or had been guilty of high-treason against the strongest, in defending their property, their wives, or their daughters against him, came and put themselves under the command of the unknown chief who disdained to share the general servitude. After six months of a petty warfare of stratagems and surprises—of combats fought in the morning or evening twilight—the chief of partisans resolved to declare himself, to call on the people of the whole western country, and make an open attack, under the Anglo-Saxon standard, on the principal camp of the Danes. This camp was situated at Ethan-dun, on the borders of Wilts and Somerset, near a forest called *Sel-wood*, or *the great wood*.⁵ Before giving the decisive signal, Elf-red wished to observe in person the position

¹ Ubi esset, vel quo devenisset. *Asser. Menev.*

² Ira-land, Irland. Irorum terra.

³ *Chron. Saxon. MSS. Asser. Menevensis*, pp. 30–32.

⁴ Nihil enim habebat quo uteretur, nisi quod a paganis aut etiam a christianis qui se paganorum subdiderant dominio, clam aut palam subtraheret. *Asser.*, p. 30.

⁵ Near the town of Frome, the neighbourhood of which is still called *Wood-land*.

of the foreigners. He entered their camp in the dress of a harper, and diverted the Danish army with his Saxon songs, the language of which differed but little from their own.¹ He went from tent to tent ; and on his return, changing his character and occupation, he sent messengers through all the surrounding country, and assigned as a place of meeting for all Saxons who would arm and fight, a spot called Eg-berht's Stone,² on the eastern skirt of the great wood, a few miles from the foreigners' camp.³

During three successive days, armed men arrived, one by one, or in small bands, at the place appointed. Every new-comer was saluted by the name of brother, and welcomed with lively and tumultuous joy. Some rumours of this agitation reached the camp of the Danes. They discovered signs of a great movement around them : but, as there was not a single traitor, their information was uncertain ; and, not knowing precisely where the insurrection was to break out, they made no manœuvre, but only doubled their outposts. It was not long, however, before they saw the banner of the white horse displayed ; Elf-red attacked their redoubts of Ethan-dun on the weakest side, drove them before him, and (as the Saxon chronicle says) remained master of the field of carnage.⁴

Once dispersed, the Danes never again rallied ; but God-run, their chief, did what those of his nation often did when in peril ; he promised that if the victors would desist from pursuing him, he and his men would be baptized, and would retire to the eastern coasts, to dwell there in peace. The Saxon chief, who was not strong enough to carry on the war to the utmost, accepted this offer ; and God-run and the other pagan captains swore, by a bracelet consecrated to their own gods,⁵ to receive baptism faithfully. Elf-red served as spiritual father to the Danish chief, who threw over his coat of mail the white robe of the neophytes, and departed with the remnant of his troops for the territory of Est-anglia, from whence he had come, and which he engaged never again to quit. The limits of the two populations were fixed by a definitive treaty, sworn to (as its preamble sets forth) by Elf-red, king, God-run, king,

¹ *Lingua Danorum Anglicanæ loquelæ vicina est. Script. Rer. Danicar.,* t. iv. p. 26.

² Egberhtes-stane.

³ *Ingulf. Croyland. Wilhelmus Malmesburiensis,* p. 43.

⁴ *Loco funeris dominatus est. Wal-stead. Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*

⁵ *On tham halgan beage. Chron. Sax. Gibson,* p. 83.

all the Anglo-Saxon sages, and all the Danish people.¹ These limits were—on the south, the course of the Thames as far as the small river Lea, which falls into it below London; and on the north and east, the river Ouse and the great way constructed by the Britons, and re-constructed by the Romans, which the Saxons called *Wæthlinga-street*—the road of the sons of Woethla.²

The Danes cantoned in Mercia and the whole country south and north of the Humber did not think themselves bound by the compact between Elf-red and God-run. Thus the war did not cease; it was only removed to the northern frontier of the territory of West-Sex. The whole of this territory, that of the South Saxons or Suth-Sex,³ and the country of Kent,⁴ unanimously proclaimed Elf-red as their deliverer and king. Not a voice was raised against him; neither in his own country, where his old unpopularity was effaced by his new services, nor in the countries which, before the Danish conquest, had had their particular kings.⁵ That part of England which the Danes no longer occupied was thus united in one single body, under the same regal authority; and thus was annihilated the ancient division of the English people into several nations—into as many nations as there had been bands of emigrants from the shores and islands of the ancient country of the Saxons.⁶ The flood of the Danish invasions had swept away for ever the lines of fortresses which had risen on the borders of each kingdom; and to an isolation sometimes hostile succeeded the union produced by common misfortunes and common hopes.

From the moment when the great separation of England into kingdoms was abolished, the other territorial divisions assumed an importance which, until then, had not belonged to them. At this time it is that we find the historians be-

¹ Ælf-red Kyning and Guth-run Kyning, and ealles Angel-kynores, Witan, and eal seo Theod, the on East-Englum beoth. *Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxon*, p. 47. In some Latin acts, Elf-red renders his title of *kyning* by the word *dux*.—"Ego Elfred *dux*." *Charta sub anno* 888. *Gloss. Saxonice. Ed. Lye.*

² *Strata quam filii regis Wethlæ straverunt. Rogerii de Hoveden. Annales*, p. 432. The word had apparently this signification; but it is more probable that *Wæthlinge-street* was only the Saxon translation of the British *Gwydd-elin-sarn*, signifying *Road of the Gaëls (the Irish)*, which is a very likely name for a road leading from Dover to the Cheshire coast.

³ Or *Suth-Seaxna-land, Suth-Seax*; by corruption, *Sussex*.

⁴ *Kent-wara-land*. In Latin, *Cantia*.

⁵ *Hunc ut redemptorem suscepere multi. Ethelwerdi Historia*, p. 846.

⁶ *Eald-sex, Vetus Saxonia, Anglorum antiqua patria. Chron. Saxon. ex Latin., passim.*

ginning to make mention of *skires*, *scires*, *shires*, or fractions of kingdoms,¹ and of hundreds and tens of families²—local circumscriptions which are as old in England as the establishment of the English, but which would be but little remarked, so long as there was above them a more general political circumscription. The custom of counting the families as simple units, and aggregating them in tens and hundreds to form cantons and districts, was known to all nations of Teutonic origin; it was to be found among the Franks in Germany, and even in Gaul.³ If this institution plays a conspicuous part in the laws which bear the name of Alfred, it is not that he invented it, but that, on the contrary, he found it rooted in the soil of England, and almost uniformly extending over all the countries which he added without violence to his kingdom of West-Sex; so that he was necessitated to make it the principal basis of his system of public order. He no more instituted the tens and hundreds of families, and the heads of districts and cantons called *tything-men* and *hundred-men*,⁴ than he instituted the judges of shires or counties,⁵ or the mode of trial by sworn witnesses chosen with the consent of the parties.⁶ It was known in England before his time, and in other nations even before there was an English people, that this is the only mode which free men can receive.

The chief of the West Saxons, now become the chief of four united Anglo-Saxon nations, acquired, after his second accession, so much celebrity for bravery, and especially for wisdom, that it is difficult to find in history the traces of the national disfavour under which he once laboured. Without ceasing to watch for the security of reconquered independence, Elf-red found time for those studies which he continued to love, but without preferring them to the people whom he intended to reap the fruit of them. There are still to be seen some of his pieces in verse and prose, remarkable for great strength of imagination, and for the pompous figures peculiar to the ancient Germanic tongues.⁷ Elf-red's life was divided

¹ *Skæren*, *Schæren*; in modern English, *to share*.

² Hundred, tything.

³ *Lex Salica.*, t. 63. Tunchinus, Tunchinium, Dineman, Zebwinger. *Wachter's Glossary*.

⁴ Tything-menn. Hundredarii.

⁵ Ealder-menn, Shire-gerefas. *Judices et Vice-comites. Ingulf. Croyland.*, p. 870.

⁶ Jurati.

⁷ See Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii.

between these labours and war;—not the vain and culpable war of aggression and conquest, but defensive war—the war for country and for duty. The oath sworn to him by the Danes of Est-anglia, first on the bracelet of Odin, and afterwards on the cross of Christ, was violated on the first appearance of a fleet of pirates on the coast. They hailed the new-comers as brethren in arms; borne away by the force of old recollections and national sympathy, they quitted the fields which they were tilling, and took down from the smoky beam the iron-bristled club.¹ On the other side, the Danes of the banks of the Humber, without violating any compact, moved towards the south to join, with the men of Est-anglia, the great sea king Hest-ing,² who, say the poets of the north, making the ocean his dwelling-place,³ passed his life in voyaging from Denmark to the Orkneys, from the Orkneys to Gaul, from Gaul to Ireland, and from Ireland to England.

Hest-ing found the English, under King Elf-red, well prepared to receive him,—not as a master, but as an enemy. He was defeated in several battles: one part of his routed army retired among the Danes of Northumbria; another part mixed with the Danes of the east; those who had gained any booty on land or at sea, settled in the towns and the flat country; while the poorest refitted their ships, and followed the indefatigable chief in new expeditions. They passed the strait of Gaul, and ascended the course of the Seine.⁴ Hest-ing, from the top of his vessel, rallied his troops by blowing an ivory horn which hung from his neck, and which the inhabitants of Gaul surnamed *the thunder*.⁵ No sooner were these fearful sounds heard from afar, than the Gaulish serf quitted the soil of the field to which he was attached, and fled with his slender stock of movables to the depths of the neighbouring forest; while the noble Frank, seized with the like terror, drew up the bridges of his castle, hastened to the keep to prepare his arms, and ordered the tribute in money which he had levied on his domain to be buried in the earth.⁶

¹ Morgen-stern.

² Or *Hæst-eng*, *Hast-ing*. *Hest*, *Heist*, *Hast*, swift, quick; *eng*, *ing*, *jong*, *jung*, young.

³ *Incolebatque mare. Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen. Script. Rer. Danicar., tom. i. p. 400.*

⁴ *Mare transivit et applicuit in ostium Sequanæ fluminis. Asser. Menevensis, p. 72.*

⁵ *Tuba illi erat eburnea tonitruum nuncupata. Duda de Sto. Quintino. Willemus Malmesbur., p. 44. Ethelwerdi Hist., p. 846. Ingulf. Croyland., p. 871.*

On the good king Alfred's death, his son Ed-ward,¹ who had distinguished himself in the war with Hest-ing, was elected by the Anglo-Saxon chiefs and sages.² One of the sons of the elder brother, Elf-red's predecessor, thought fit to protest against this election, by virtue of his hereditary rights, and in contempt of the rights of the people. The electors of the English kings answered this insolent and absurd pretension by declaring Ethel-wald,³ the son of Ethel-red, a rebel to his country, and condemning him to banishment. This man, instead of obeying the sentence legally pronounced against him, threw himself, with a few favourers of his ambition, into the town of Wimborn on the south-west coast, swearing to keep it or to perish.⁴ But he did not keep his oath; for, on the approach of the army of the English people, he fled without fighting, and went among the Danes of Northumbria, where he became, like them, a pagan and a pirate. They appointed him chief of the war against his countrymen. The rejected pretender made a pillaging incursion into the territories of those who would not have him for their king, and was killed in the ranks of the foreigners whom he was leading to plunder. King Ed-ward then took the offensive against the Danes; he reconquered from them the eastern coasts, from the mouth of the Thames to the Wash, and shut them in their northern territory by a line of fortresses erected beyond the Humber.⁵ His successor, Ethel-stan,⁶ passed the Humber, took the city of York, and forced the colonists of the Scandinavian race to swear to do whatever he should require.⁷ One chief of the conquered Danes was conducted with honour to the palace of the Saxon king, and admitted to his table: but a few days of a peaceful life were sufficient to weary him. He encountered the dangers of flight to gain the sea, and put himself in a pirate vessel, being as incapable (says the ancient historian) of living out of the water, as a fish.⁸

The Saxon army advanced to the banks of the Tweed; and Northumbria was added to the dominions of Ethel-stan, who

¹ Or *Ead-weard*. *Ed*, happy; *ward*, guardian.

² To kynge gecuron. *Chron. Saxon. Asser.*, p. 72.

³ Or *Æthel-weald*. *Ethel*, noble; *weald*, *wald*, *walt*, powerful, governing.

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 100. *Henrici Hunting.*, p. 352.

⁵ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*, pp. 100-109.

⁶ Or *Æthelstane*, the Saxon superlative of *Ethel*—noble.

⁷ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 109.

⁸ In aqua sicut piscis vivere assuetus. *Wilhelm. Malmesb.*, p. 50. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson. Ethelwerdi Hist.*, p. 847. *Script. Rer. Danicar. Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 871.

was the first of all the English kings that reigned over all England. In the ardour of this conquest, the Anglo-Saxons crossed their ancient northern limit;¹ and disturbed with an invasion the descendants of the Scots and Picts, and the tribe of old Britons inhabiting the valley of the Clyde.² An offensive league was entered into by these different nations with the Danes who came from beyond sea to deliver their countrymen from the power of the men of the south. Olf or Olaf,³ son of Sig-ric,⁴ the last Danish king of Northumbria, was made general-in-chief of this confederacy, in which the men of the Baltic were joined by the Danes of the Orkneys, the Gaëls of the Hebrides—armed with a long two-handed broadsword which they called *glay-more*, or the *great sword*, the Gaëls from the feet of the Grampian mountains, and the Cambrians of Dun-Briton and Galloway⁵—carrying long slender javelins. The two armies met on the north of the Humber, at a place called in Saxon *Brunan-burh*, or the *town of fountains*. Victory declared for the English, who forced the confederates to retreat with difficulty to their ships, their islands, and their mountains. They named this day *the day of the great battle*;⁶ and sang it in national poems, some fragments of which are still existing:—

“King Ethel-stan—the chief of chiefs—the giver of collars to the brave, and his brother the illustrious Ed-mund, have fought at Brunan-burh with the edge of the sword. They have cloven the wall of shields. They have struck down the warriors of renown—the race of the Scots, and the men of the ships.

“Olaf has fled, followed by few, and has wept upon the waves. The stranger, when seated at his fire-side, surrounded by his family, will not relate this battle; for in it his kinsmen have fallen—from it his friends have not returned. The chiefs of the north will lament in their councils that their warriors would play at the game of carnage with the sons of Ed-ward.

“King Ethel-stan and his brother Ed-mund have recovered the land of the Saxons of the west. They left behind them

¹ See Book I. p. 61.

² *Ibid.* p. 62.

³ *Olf, Ulf, Hulf*, succour, succouring.

⁴ Or *Sith-ric, Sit-ric*, perhaps by corruption. *Sig*, victorious; *ric*, strong, brave, mighty.

⁵ In Latin, *Galwidia*.

⁶ Unde usque ad præsens, bellum prænominatur magnum. *Ethelwerdi Historia*, p. 848. *Wilhelm. Malmes.*, pp. 48–50. *Ingulf. Croyland.*, p. 37.

the raven feeding on the carcasses of the Britons—the black raven with his pointed beak, and the croaking toad, and the eagle hungering after white flesh, and the greedy kite, and the wild wolf of the woods.

“Never was there greater carnage in this island; never did more men perish by the edge of the sword, since the days when the Saxons and the Angles came from the east across the ocean,—when those noble forgers of war came into Britain,—when they conquered the Welsh¹ and took their country.”²

Ethel-stan made the Cambrians of the south pay dearly for the assistance which their brethren of the north had given to his enemies. He ravaged the territories of the Welsh; imposed a tax upon them; and the King of Aber-fraw (as the old acts express it) paid tribute to the King of London, in money, oxen, falcons, and hounds.³ The Britons of Cornwall were driven from the city of Exeter, which they then inherited in common with the English.⁴ This population was forced southward, beyond the course of the river Tamar, which then became, and at this day continues to be, the limit of Cornwall. Ethel-stan boasted in his charters of having subdued every people foreign to the Saxon race inhabiting the island of Britain.⁵ To the Anglo-Danes of Northumbria he gave a Norwegian for their governor. This was Er-ric,⁶ son of Her-ald,⁷ an old pirate who turned Christian to obtain a command. On the day of his baptism he swore to keep and defend Northumbria from the pagans and pirates,⁸ and from being a *king of the sea* became *king of a province* (as the Scandinavians⁹ expressed it). But this too peaceful dignity soon grew irksome to him, and he went back to his ships. After an absence of some years he returned to visit the Northumbrians, who gave him welcome, and reappointed him their chief, without the consent of the Saxon king Ed-red,¹⁰

¹ *Wealla, Weallisca, Welsch*, is the generic name given by the Teutones to those of the Celtic or Roman races.

² *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, pp. 112-114.

³ *Laws of Howell Dda*, book iii. ch. ii. p. 199.

⁴ *Quam id temporis æquo cum Anglis jure habitabant. Wilhelm. Malmesb.*, p. 50.

⁵ *Dugdale.—Monasticon Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 140.

⁶ Vulgo *Eric*. *Er, her*, battle, warrior, chief; *ric*, strong, mighty.

⁷ Or *Har-old*; perhaps more correctly *Her-hold*. *Her*, warlike; *hold*, faithful.

⁸ *Contra Danos aliosque piratas tuiturus. Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. I. p. 127.

⁹ *Theod-kyning, Fylkes-kyning, Folkes-king.*

¹⁰ Happy counsellor. See pp. 68, 76.

successor to the son of Ethel-stan. Ed-red marched against them, and forced them to abandon Er-ric, who, in his turn, in revenge for their desertion, came and attacked them along with five chiefs of corsairs from Denmark, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides. He fell in the first battle, together with the five sea kings, his allies. His death was sung, according to custom, by the Scandinavian poets, who, without taking into their account the baptism which Er-ric had received among the English, placed him, in their imaginations, in a paradise quite different from that of Christ and His saints.¹

"I have had a dream," said the panegyrist of the pirate ; "I found myself at the dawn of day in the hall of Wal-hall,² preparing all things for the reception of those slain in battle.

"I awakened the heroes from their sleep ; I persuaded them to rise, and arrange the benches, and prepare the drinking-cups, as for the arrival of a king."

"Whence all this bustle?" cries Braggis ; "whence is it that so many are stirring about and removing the benches?" Odin replies, "It is because Er-ric is coming ; I expect him ; rise and go to meet him."

"But why does his coming please thee more than that of another king?" "Because many are the places in which his sword has been red with blood ; many are the places which his bloodstained sword has passed through."

"Hail to thee, Er-ric ! brave warrior, enter ; thou art welcome in this abode. Tell us what kings accompany thee. How many come with thee from the combat?"

"Five kings come," answered Er-ric, "and I am the sixth."³

The land of the Northumbrians, which had hitherto preserved its ancient name of *kingdom*, now lost it, and was divided into several provinces. The country between the Humber and the Tees was named the province of York, in Saxon *Ever-wick-shire*. The rest of the country, as far as the Tweed, kept the general name of Northumbria—*Northan-humbra-land* : although it was divided into several minor circumscriptions ; as the land of the Cambrians—*Cumbra-land*, near the Solway Firth ; the land of the Western mountains—*West-moringa-land* ; and Northumbria properly so called, on the borders of the eastern sea, between the rivers Tyne and Tweed. The

¹ *Heimskringla*, p. 127. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 114.

² *Wal-hall* signifies *palace of the dead*.

³ *Torfaus—Hist. Norweg.*, lib. iv. cap. 10.

Northumbrian chiefs, under the superior authority of the Anglo-Saxon kings, preserved the Danish title which they had borne since the invasion, and continued to be called Jarls, Erls, or Earls, according to the Saxon orthography. This is a word whose signification is doubtful, but which the Scandinavians applied to every sort of commander, whether military or civil, acting as the lieutenant of the supreme chief, called *kyng* or *ky-ning*.¹

By degrees the Anglo-Saxons introduced this title into their territories of the south and west, and made it the appellation of the chief magistrate, to whom was delegated the government of the great provinces formerly called kingdoms, with the supremacy over all the local magistrates, over the prefects of shires—*shire-gerefas* or *shire-reves*, the prefects of towns—*port-reves*, and the ancients of the people—*elder-menn*.² This last title had been, before that of *earl*, the generic name of the great Anglo-Saxon magistracies; thenceforward it was lowered by one degree, and extended only to inferior jurisdictions and municipal dignities.

The great mass of the Danes now became citizens of England, embraced Christianity, that they might cease to appear foreign and odious to their southern conquerors. Several, in consideration of grants of land, took the title and office of *perpetual defenders* of the churches which themselves had burned; others, clothed in the habit of priests, retained all the violence and ferocity of the robbers of the sea. An old pirate chief, who at a late period of life had received baptism, became Archbishop of Canterbury. He used the pastoral staff as he had used the battle-axe; and, as a proof of his respect for that commandment of God which ordains purity of morals, he caused the mistress of a young Saxon king³ to be mangled and massacred before the eyes of her lover, who neither dared to defend her nor to demand an account of her death from the old mitred plunderer.⁴

In the revolution which united all England, from the Tweed to the Land's End, in one and the same political

¹ *Erl*, in the Saxon language, and in that of the Franks, means simply, a man, a strong man, a warrior.

² Vulgarly, *aldermen*.

³ Ed-wig.

⁴ Summus pontifex Odo, vir grandævitatatis maturitate fultus et omnium iniquitatum inflexibilis adversarius. *Vita Dunstani in Collect. Baronii. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, pp. 114, 115 et seq.

body, the power of the kings who had become monarchs increased in strength as it increased in extent, and became, to each newly united people, more oppressive than the ancient power of their local kings had been. The association of the Anglo-Danish and the Anglo-Saxon provinces, necessarily drew upon the latter somewhat of the harsh and galling rule which weighed upon the others, because they were peopled with foreigners forcibly subjected. The same kings exercising their power in the north as conquerors, and in the south simply as national chiefs, were soon led to confound these two characters, and to make but a slight distinction between the Anglo-Dane and the Anglo-Saxon—the foreigner and the native—the subject and the free citizen. These kings conceived an exaggerated opinion of themselves and their power; they surrounded themselves with a pomp before unknown; and they ceased to be popular like their predecessors, who, taking the people for their counsellors in all things,¹ found them always ready to do what they had themselves decreed. Thence arose new causes of weakness for England. Great as she thenceforward appeared, under chiefs whose titles of honour filled several lines,² she was in reality less capable of resisting an external enemy than when, reduced to a small number of provinces, her national laws bore no other superscription than “*I, Elf-red, king of the West Saxons.*”³

The Danes of England, unwillingly subject to the kings of the Saxon nation, constantly turned their eyes towards the sea, hoping that each breeze would bring them deliverers and chiefs from their ancient country. Nor did they wait long in vain; for in the reign of Ethel-red, son of Ed-gar,⁴ the emigrations of the people of the north into Britain, which had never entirely ceased, all at once re-assumed a hostile character. Seven ships of war came to the coast of Kent, and plundered the Isle of Thanet. Three other ships, directing their course southward, ravaged the places about Southampton. Some land forces, too, invaded the eastern counties. The alarm was spread as far as London; and Ethel-red assembled the national council, which was

¹ *Ræde, Rædegifan gerædnesse.* See the preambles of the Anglo-Saxon laws, in *Hickesii Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium.*

² *Dugdale—Monasticon. Anglican.,* tom. i. p. 140.

³ *Ego, Alfredus, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex.*

⁴ Or *Ead-gar.* *Ed,* fortunate; *gar, ger, her,* javelin, arms, war, warlike.

formed, for the most part of priests and parasites, under a careless and ostentatious chief.¹ The council prudently resolved that, the Danes being come to plunder, the best means of persuading them to depart was to give them peaceably what they desired to take. A certain tribute, anciently levied under the name of *Danish tax*, to pay those who armed themselves against the Danish and Norwegian invaders, was converted into a contribution for them.² The amount of the first payment was ten thousand pounds, which the pirates received on condition of their going away from England. They set out, it is true; but they soon returned in greater numbers, in order to obtain a greater sum. Their fleet ascended the Humber, and laid waste both its banks. The men of the neighbouring counties ran in arms to meet them; but, when about to engage, three of their chiefs, of Danish origin, betrayed them and went over to the enemy. All the newly converted Danes of Northumbria became friends and allies of the pagans from the Baltic.³

The winds of spring soon brought into the Thames a fleet of eighty vessels, commanded by two kings, Olaf of Norway and Swen⁴ of Denmark; the second of whom, after receiving baptism, had returned to the worship of Odin. The northern kings planted the lance on the lands of the English, or threw it into the streams of their rivers, in sign of dominion.⁵ They marched (says an old historian) escorted by fire and sword, their ordinary satellites.⁶ Ethel-red, whom the consciousness of his unpopularity made fearful of assembling an army,⁷ again proposed a sum of money to the pirates as the price of peace. They demanded twenty-four thousand pounds; the Saxon king paid them; and thought he had gained a great triumph in becoming sponsor to a Danish chief, who received in full ceremony in the church of Winchester, the

¹ Rex pulchre ad dormiendum factus. *Wilhelm. Malmsh.*, p. 68. Rex imbellis imbecillis, monachum potius quam militem actione prestandens. *Vita Elfegi—Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 131.

² *Dane-gald, Dane-geold*; in Latin, *Danegeldum*. Ex unaquaque hydra 12 denarios ad conducendos eos qui pratarum irruptioni obviarent. *Leges Anglo-Saxon—Wilkins*.

³ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 126. *Ingulf, Croyl.*, p. 890. *Johannis Brompton*, pp. 877, 879. *Radmeri Novorum Historia*, p. 4. *With. Malmsh.*, pp. 68, 69.

⁴ *Sven, Sveinn, Sweyn, Swayn*, a young man.

⁵ Conjecta in undas lancea, monumenti gratia. *Script. Ner. Danic.*

⁶ Cum ducibus solitis Marte et Vulcano. *Joh. Brompton*, p. 883.

⁷ Formidine meritorum nullum sibi fidelem metuens. *Wilhelm. Malmsh.*, p. 69.

water in which one of his fellows boasted of having washed himself twenty times.¹

The truce of the invaders was far from being peaceful. They killed men² and violated women in the places where they were cantoned. The Saxon inhabitants, to whom the effeminacy of their king left no means of defending themselves openly, conspired in secret; and, on the same day and in the same hour, appointed beforehand, the foreigners, being attacked unawares, were massacred, men, women, and children, without distinction, by their hosts and neighbours.³ This terrible act of vengeance, which has been paralleled in other times by other nations reduced to despair, took place on St. Bride's day, in the year 1003. The massacre did not extend into the northern and eastern provinces, where the Danes were too numerous, both in the towns and in the country; but most of the new conquerors, the soldiers of King Swen, and one of his sisters, perished in it. To revenge their fall, Swen assembled an army more numerous than the first, and in which (according to an old author) there was neither a slave, nor a freed man, nor an old man; but each combatant was free, the son of a free man, and in the vigour of life.⁴

This army embarked in high vessels, each bearing a distinctive sign which designated the commander. Some had at their prows figures of lions, bulls, dolphins, or men, of gilt metal; at the mast-heads of others were birds extending their wings and turning with the wind: the sides of the ships were painted of different colours, and shields of polished steel were hung upon them in rows.⁵ The king's ship had the lengthened form of a serpent, its head advancing to the prow, and its tail coiled at the stern: hence it was called *the Great Dragon*.⁶ At their disembarkation on the English coast, the Danes, formed into battalions, displayed a banner of white silk, in the centre of which was embroidered a raven opening his beak and spreading his wings.⁷ As they passed along, they gaily partook of the repast unwillingly prepared for them;

¹ *Monachus Sti. Galli, inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, p. 134. *Johan. Brompton*, p. 879. *Gibson*, p. 126 et seq.

² *Jam post pacem factam uxores et filias vi opprimere præsumpserunt. Mathæi Westmonast. Flores. Hist.*, p. 301.

³ *Mulieres cum liberis. Ibid.*

⁴ *Nullus servus, nullus ex servo libertus. Emmae Reginae Anglorum Encomium*, p. 166. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 127 et seq.

⁵ *Reginae Emmae Encomium*, p. 166.

⁶ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. ii. p. 294.

⁷ *Corvus hians ore excutientsque alas. Emmae Encom.*, p. 170.

and on their departure, paid for their good cheer by killing the host and burning the lodging.¹

They everywhere carried off the horses ; and, turning horsemen after the manner of their predecessors, marched rapidly across the country, suddenly presenting themselves when they were thought to be at a distance, and surprising the towns and fortified places. In a short time they had conquered all the southern counties, from the mouth of the Ouse to the bay of Southampton. Ethel-red and his cowardly advisers decreed levies of money, constantly increasing in their amount, to purchase a day's truce from the enemy. Such of the English as had the good fortune to be still preserved from the Danish plunderers, escaped not the royal exactions ; and, under one form or other, the inhabitants of each district were sure to have everything taken from them.²

While the great men of England were thus bargaining with the foreigner at the expense of the poor, there was one man who, though great and powerful in the country, chose rather to die than to follow their example. This was the prelate of Canterbury, named Elf-eg.³ A prisoner among the Danes after the siege of the episcopal city, he remained long in chains without pronouncing a word about his ransom. The Danes were tired first, and proposed to their captain to liberate him for three thousand pounds, and his promise to persuade King Ethel-red to pay them a quadruple amount. "I have not so much money," returned the Saxon archbishop ; "I will take none from any one ; nor will I counsel my chief against the honour of my country."⁴ He loudly declared that he would accept no present from any one for his ransom, and forbade his friends to solicit anything, saying that it would be treason in him to pay the enemies of England. The Danes, thirsting more for money than for the blood of the archbishop, often repeated their demands. "You urge me in vain," replied Elf-eg ; "I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth, nor to give up to your rapacity what the poor have laid by for their subsistence."⁵

¹ Reddebant hospiti cædem, hospitio flammam. *Henrici Huntingdon. Hist.*, p. 360.

² *Ingulf. Croyl.*, pp. 890, 891. *Wilhelm. Malmsb.*, p. 68.

³ *Ælf-eg.* Elf, genius ; eg, eeg, eternal.

⁴ Me nil contra patriæ decus regi suasurum. *Vita Elfegi in Anglia Sacra*, tom ii. p. 132.

⁵ Christianorum carnes paganis dentibus conterendas . . . quod paupertas ad vitam paraverat. *Ibid.* p. 138. *Eadmeri Novor. Historia*, p. 4. *Ingulf. Croyland.*, p. 891. *Johan. Brompton*, p. 890.

The Danes at length lost patience ; and one day, when they were intoxicated with wine which they had received from the south, they had the prisoner brought into their camp, to the place where they held their councils of war,¹ and, in derision, made him go through the mockery of a sentence. When Elf-eg appeared, a great cry was raised by all the troops, formed in a circle. "Gold, bishop, gold!—or we will make thee play a part that shall render thee famous in the world."² The bishop was immovable. The Danes, irritated by his constancy, ran to a heap of bones and horns of oxen, the relics of their repasts, and showered them from all sides on the Saxon.³ Elf-eg soon fell, half dead, and was despatched with an axe by one of the pirates whom he had converted and baptized with his own hand. The murderers were at first going to throw the corpse into a neighbouring ditch ; but the Anglo-Saxons, who loved Elf-eg and honoured him as a martyr, purchased his body with a large sum of money, and buried it at London.⁴

King Ethel-red, however, practised without scruple what the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the peril of his own life, refused to advise. One day, his tax-gatherers⁵ raised tributes for the Danes ; next day, the Danes presented themselves and taxed on their own account ;⁶ and on their departure, the royal agents again appeared, and treated the unfortunate inhabitants worse than before, calling them traitors and purveyors to the enemy.⁷ The real purveyor to the enemy, Ethel-red, at length wearied the patience of the people who had made him king to defend them. Hard as was the rule of the foreigners, it was found better to pass at once into their hands, than to go through a lengthened agony under the Saxon despot before suffering this at last inevitable fate. Several of the central counties voluntarily surrendered to the Danes ; Oxford and Winchester soon opened their gates ; and Swen, advancing into the western country as far as the channel of the Severn, took the title of King of all England, without a sword being drawn from the scabbard to give him the lie.⁸ Ethel-red, terrified at the

¹ To heora hustinga. *Chron. Saxon.*, p. 142.

² Aurum, episcopus, aurum ! *Vita Elfegi*, p. 140.

³ Ossibus et boum cornibus. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 142. *Johan. Brompton*, pp. 890, 891.

⁵ Exactores regis. *Ingulf. Croyland.*, pp. 890.

⁶ Misit Turkillus, Danicus comes, exactores suos. *Ibid.* p. 891.

⁷ Tanquam patriæ proditorem et Danorum provisorem. *Ibid.*

⁸ Rex plenarius. Fullnæ kyning. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*.

general desertion, fled into the small isle of Wight; and from thence crossed the channel into Gaul, to ask an asylum from his wife's brother, the chief of one of the western provinces near the mouth of the Seine.¹

In marrying a foreign woman, Ethel-red had conceived the hope of obtaining some assistance against the Danes from his wife's powerful relatives; but he was deceived in his expectations. The marriage which was to have procured defenders for England,² brought across the sea only place-hunters and ambitious men, craving money and dignities. The husband of the foreigner had entrusted these foreigners with the command of some towns; and these were the first surrendered to the Danes.³ By a singular coincidence the chief residing in Gaul, whose alliance the Saxon king had sought as his aid in the struggle with the pirates of Scandinavia, was himself of Scandinavian origin, and descended from ancient pirates who had invaded the portion of Gaul over which he reigned. His ancestors, after more than once ravaging this territory, as the Danes were ravaging Britain, had founded a colony called from their own name *Normandy*, or the land of the Normans.⁴ Normandy was contiguous, on the southern side, to the territory of the British refugees; and on the east, it joined the country from which it had been dismembered in the ancient conquest by the Franks, and which the Franks, after the lapse of five centuries, still inhabited distinct from the native Gauls, less in their manners and their idiom than in their social condition. Liberty was the birthright of the descendants of the victorious people: in the vulgar tongue of the twelfth century there was no word to express it but *frankese*,⁵ and to denote a free man, no other word than *frankman*.⁶

Neither the single invasion and victory of the sons of Merewig, nor their close alliance with the orthodox Christian priests and the Pope of Rome,⁷ had been sufficient to occasion this lasting separation of the two peoples, a separation rooted in the very language of the indigenous race. In less than three

¹ *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 144. *Wilhelm. Malmesb.*, p. 169. *Henrici Hunting.*, p. 362.

² *Ad majorem securitatem regni sui. Johan. Brompt.*, p. 883.

³ *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 360. *Rogerii de Hoved. Annales*, p. 429.

⁴ *Quam Northmanniam Northmanni vocaverunt, eoquod de Norwega egressi essent. Script. Rer. Normannicar.*, p. 7.

⁵ In Latin, *frankisia*, *franchisia*; in the modern vulgar tongue, *franchise*.

⁶ *Francus-homo*; in the vulgar tongue, *frans homes*. See the Collection of the Historians of the Franks and Gauls, *passim*.

⁷ See Book I. page 31, and following.

centuries after their arrival in Gaul, these conquerors had themselves almost become Gauls: the sons of the warlike Sicambri inhabited the cities which rose again from their ashes; and the kings descended from Lot-wig, as inoffensive towards the conquered as their forefathers had been terrible, already limited all their dominion to peaceful progresses in their waggons.¹ Then it was that a second band of Germans—Franks from betwixt the Rhine and the Meuse, free from all mixture with the nations of the south—Franks who handled the sword, lived on horseback,² and loved to repose only in camps or in fortified dwellings which themselves were camps, came down from the north-east towards the west and south.³

The new invaders treated the degenerate Franks of Gaul as the latter had treated the Gauls, and united in the same defeat and dispossession the sons of the conquerors and the conquered,⁴ being particularly careful to annihilate that portion of liberty which the indolence of the governing people had allowed the governed to resume. From the Meuse to the Pyrenees, the land of the Gauls was parcelled out afresh, the domains passing for the most part into the hands of foreign masters, whether they had belonged to Franks by descent, or to priests whom the Franks had portioned, or to Gallo-Roman farmers for the Franks and the priests. The conquerors, as if in derision, permitted the offspring of Mere-wig to retain for some time the title without the power of the king;⁵ then, in their assembly held in an open field, they stripped them of their royalty and shaved their heads like those of the Gauls.⁶

As soon as this new race of barbarians, led by their great chief Karl,⁷ surnamed *the forge-hammer*,⁸ had overrun the south, plundering, devastating the cities, and destroying them by fires, the traces of which are still to be seen on the arches

¹ *Plastro bobus trahentibus vectus. Annales Suldenses, Script. Franc., tom. ii. p. 678.*

² *Inter Carbonariam sylvam et Mosam fluvium et Fresionum fines. Annales Metenses, ibid. p. 677. Assidue exercebatur equitando, quod illi gentilitium erat. Eginharti Vita Caroli, apud Script. Rer. Franc., tom. v.*

³ *Rerum Gallic. et Francic. Script., tom. ii. p. 678.*

⁴ *Spolia ampla suis fidelibus impertitur. Ibid. 679.*

⁵ *Nomen illi regis inæstimabili pietate reservavit. Script. Rer. Franc., tom. ii. p. 680.*

⁶ *Depositus et tonsoratus est. Ibid. p. 698. Malint videre interfectos quam tonsos. Greg. Turon. Crinigeri, setati, setosi, setigeri, loh-boren. See Script. Franc., tom. ii. and iii.*

⁷ *Or Kerl, a man, a stout man.*

⁸ *In Latin, Tudites or Martellus. The historians have not handed down to us this man's name in his own Frank tongue.*

of the circus at Nismes, there came from the city of the Seven Hills ambassadors offering to the Frank captain the friendship of the holy apostles and the alliance of the holy church. By virtue of this alliance, Pippinn,¹ the son of Karl, elected king by all the Franks of Germany and Gaul, after being carried on a shield through his camp, was anointed with oil consecrated by the hand of the Pope of Rome, who had come into the country of the Franks² for the purpose. The pope, breaking the last ties which bound him to the kings of Byzantium, heirs to the Cæsars, conferred on the German king the title of *Patricius*,³ or sovereign magistrate of the Roman city; and in return, the German crossed the Alps, conquered towns, and made presents of them to St. Peter and the Pope of Rome.⁴

The grandson of Karl, called by the same name as his grandfather, was, like his father Pippinn, invited to march into Italy and conquer more towns for the apostle Peter, whose ambition, once excited, was not easily allayed. Karl forced the barriers which closed the passes of the mountains; ⁵ drove from Upper Italy the Germanic race of the Long-bard kings, political rivals of the Lateran conclave; and, on Easter-day, in the year 801, the chief of that conclave placed a golden diadem on his head in the name of the senate and people of Rome, and saluted him by the name of *Emperor instituted by God, great, pious, happy, clement, triumphant, and ever august*. Karl carried with him these titles, new to a German, to the city of Aaken or Aix on the Meuse, which then became the imperial city of the West, as Byzantium was that of the East. The German soldiers called their chief *Kaisar*; ⁶ and his flatterers never afterwards approached him without bending one knee to the earth.⁷

The recollections linked with a name, whose splendour was not yet extinct, caused the new Cæsar to be regarded as superior to all kings. Karl, however, did not rely on the power of this moral influence alone; but, to help the nations to feel it more profoundly, passed his life in arms, going, at the head of his Teutonic bands, through nearly all the south

¹ The signification and orthography of this name are doubtful. According to *Wachter's Glossary*, *pinn*, *ppin*, *jan*, means a *chief*.

² Ad optimum et Sancto Petro fidelem Dominum Pipinum, in Franciam veni. *Stephani Papæ Epistola, apud Reginonis Prumiensis*.

³ *Script. Rer. Italicar.*, p. 171.

⁴ Beato Petro obtulit. *Anastasius-Biblioth.*

⁵ Clusæ Alpium. *Clausuræ*.

⁶ Or *Keysar*, *Keyser*.

⁷ *Rerum Francic. Script.*, tom. v.

of Europe, uttering the sounds of the Teutonic dialect in the ears of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean shores, but never speaking their language, and only deigning sometimes to change his mother tongue¹ for the classical idiom of the learned and the priests. He established schools for this latter language, even in his imperial city of Aix. But in his too much boasted plans of literary cultivation, he never thought of the Gauls or of Gaul, which he regarded as a foreign country,² whence he took neither generals nor warriors, and which he valued only for the forests where he hunted in autumn,³ and the domains the revenues of which were conveyed every year to his residences beyond the Rhine at Munster and Paderborn. If he sometimes thought of the old Gaulish cities, it was with a view of carrying off by force good manufacturers of arms and stuffs, whom he attached as serfs to the soil of his domains.⁴

So long as this first German Cæsar lived, whose sword never rested—this favourite of the Church, for whom, according to the legends, the angels themselves performed the offices of spies and guides⁵ in his campaigns; so long as he marched his vagabond armies from north to south and from east to west, receiving everywhere from the mouths of the priests the Latin title of *great*, which has ever since remained so oddly affixed to his name;⁶ so long as his sword was suspended over the nations of the western continent, these nations remained united, in spite of themselves, under his dominion, foreign as it was to all of them except one alone. But they broke this false union the instant that the conqueror, in his imperial robes, descended into the sepulchral vault of his basilisk of Aix. A spontaneous movement of insurrection against the new empire manifested itself among the nations of different origins and of various manners and languages, thus forcibly associated. Gaul inclined to separate from Germany, and Italy to detach itself from both. Each of these great masses of men thus put in motion, carried along with them the portion of the conquering people dwelling among them as

¹ Eginhart, *inter Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. v.

² Monachus Sti. Galli, *passim*. Eginhart, *inter Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. v.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Diplomata Caroli Magni*, apud *Script. Rer. Franc.* Ermoldi Nigelli *Carminis de Ludovico Imperatore*, lib. i. *Ibid.* tom. vi.

⁵ At the passage of the Alps. See Muratori—*Script. Rer. Italicar.*, tom. ii.

⁶ *Magnus*, *Carolus Magnus*; in the old language, *Callemaigne*; in modern French, *Charlemagne*.

masters of the soil, with Latin or Germanic titles of power and honour.¹

Franks drew the sword against Franks; brothers against brothers; fathers against sons. Three of the grandsons of Karl, surnamed the Great, gave battle to one another in the centre of Gaul: one at the head of an army of Gauls and Gallo-Franks; another with the men of Italy, of Latin or Teutonic origin; and a third with the purely Teutonic inhabitants of Germany.² The domestic quarrel of the kings, sprung from the Frank Cæsar, was but a reflection of the quarrel of the nations, which is the reason that it was so long and obstinate. The kings made and re-made twenty different partitions of that empire which the people wished to dissolve. They exchanged oaths in the Teutonic and the vulgar Roman tongue,³ and broke them immediately, being brought back to discord, almost in spite of themselves, by the turbulence of the masses, whom no treaty could satisfy. On one hand, the Franks on the borders of the Rhine would not relinquish their ancient privilege of furnishing to the southern country its counts, its dukes, its chiefs of provinces and towns; while on the other, the natives of the south, not satisfied with being guaranteed by a political separation from the annual invasions of new Frank lords,⁴ still aspired to a deliverance from the power and presence of the men of the Frank race, abiding amongst them with such privileges that the simple name of *man* in the Teutonic language, the word *baron*,⁵ was a title of nobility and command.

Thus, when the southern pirates visited Gaul as they visited England, they found two races of people, differing in their origin, differing in their condition, and having different names in the language of the country, although foreigners confounded them under the same national denomination. This denomination varied in a very remarkable manner. The Italians, the English, and the people of Scandinavia, saw only Franks in Gaul; they called it *France*,⁶ and the inhabitants *Frenchmen*

¹ Duces, Comites, Judices, Missi, Præfecti, Præpositi. *Grafen, Markgrafen, Land-grafen, Tun-grafen, Here-togen, Rachen-burger, Schappen, Senschalcken, Mære-schalcken, &c.*

² At Fontenay (*Fontanetum*) near Auxerre.

³ *Nithardi Historia, inter Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. vi.

⁴ *Senior*, the Latin version of the Teutonic word *elder-mann, alter-mann*, was, in the vulgar tongue of the conquered Gauls, synonymous with *dominus*, master.

⁵ *Bar, barn, bern, bairn, beorn*, a man, a male. *Wachter's Glossary*. Whence *bers, bernez, bernage*.

⁶ *Franken-land*. In Latin, *Francia*.

or *French*.¹ The Germans, on the contrary, reserving to themselves the noble name of Franks, persisted, from the eleventh century, in seeing no Franks in Gaul, which they disdainfully called *Wallonia*, the land of the *Wallons* or *Welches*.² In the heart of Gaul, a still finer distinction was made. The man free from taxes, who lived in the country, in a fortified house, surrounded by a large domain, the soil and people of which he ruled as he chose, took the title of *frank-man*, which title denoted at once personal independence and political superiority.³ Those who, having no seigneurial mansions built on the heights, lived indiscriminately, in the Roman manner, in the towns and hamlets, derived from that circumstance an especial appellation, which took the place of their ancient national name; they were called *villains*; ⁴ and this name given to a frank-man would have been the highest insult. Every frank-man wore a sword, and had a horse for the field: the names of cavalier and warrior were his titles of honour⁵—titles refused to the *villain*, who had neither horses nor arms, and had not the right to possess them.

The Danish and Norman pirates made themselves masters of the towns and villages of Gaul at little cost: but the castles and palaces were fortified against them; the rich abbeys were garrisoned, and the frank-men—the cavaliers—the barons, would post themselves there to defend them, while the neighbouring city was in flames, and the long chain of men and women whom the Normans were dragging into slavery, passed them within bow-shot.⁶ In the treaties which the king of the Frank race made with the robbers of the north, he would sometimes engage, on his soul's salvation, to bring back to them such of their slaves as had escaped, and to raise for them the war-tax on the *villains*, clowns, and husband-

¹ Frenkise.

² Wallen-land, Welschen-land. Alamani et cæteri Transrhenani populi magis proprie se Francos appellari jubent, et eos quos nos putamus Francos Galwalas antiquo vocabulo, quasi Gallos Romanos appellant. *Willelm. Malmesb. Historia*, p. 25.

³ Vivere, habitare, succedere, more Francorum. *Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. vi. vii. viii.

⁴ In Latin, *Villani*. The word *villa*, which the Romans used only to express a *country-house*, was employed at an early period, in the corrupted Latin tongues, to denote any kind of inhabited place.

⁵ Miles, Rector, Chevalier.

⁶ Adversus quos nullus rex, nullus dux, nullus defensor surrexit qui eos expugnaret. *Hist. de Bretagne, par Dom Lobineau—Pièces Justificatives*, tom. iii. p. 45.

men.¹ Placed betwixt the two dangers of being massacred by the Danes or sold to them by the rulers of the country, the poor labourers, urged by frantic bravery, would sometimes throw themselves, armed with staves, among the Norman axes: sometimes, to appease the fury of the pagan enemy, they would renounce their baptism, and swear, on the body of a horse offered in sacrifice, to worship the gods of the north.²

Many of the peasantry on the western coast of Gaul had recourse to the latter expedient; many even joined the Danish bands; and ancient historians assure us that the famous Hest-ing was the son of a labourer in the vicinity of Troies.³ Hest-ing had the satisfaction to see flying before him those cavaliers armed at all points—those haughty barons, whom his fathers had not dared to look in the face. After his victories, when he was tired of traversing the world, and wished to repose in the land of his ancestors, he went to the Frank king of northern Gaul: "Hearken," said he to him; "Hest-ing desires to become one of thy counts; he asks of thee one of thy good towns." The king did not think fit to remind the pirate that he was sprung from the race which was governed by the counts, and from which the counts did not proceed; but he gave him the keys of the city of Chartres, and allowed him to rank with the sons of the Franks.⁴

Shortly afterwards, another band of Norman adventurers, led by Rolf,⁵ son of Regn-ald,⁶ ascended the Seine, and cantoned themselves on the lands bordering on the river. The frank-men deputed the new count of Chartres to reconnoitre and negotiate with this army. "Who are you?" asked the aged Hest-ing. "We are Danes," answered they; "we come from Denmark to subdue the land of the Franks." "What title, then, does your chief bear?" "None; we are all equal."⁷ It appears that the companions of Rolf would accept no proposal for their retreat. They advanced as far as Rouen, which they took, and made it their fortress and the depôt for their plunder. There was then reigning in Gaul beyond the Loire a chief of the family of Karl the Great, and

¹ Villani, manentes, coloni. *Sismondi—Histoire des Français*, tom. iii. p. 172.

² *Script. Rer. Danicar. Coll. Langebek.*

³ *Sismondi—Hist. des Français*, tom. iii.

⁴ *Willelmi Gemeticensis Historia*, p. 121.

⁵ An abbreviation of *Rad-holf*, counsel and assistance, or assisting counsellor.

⁶ *Regn, Rekn, Reke*, strong, mighty; *ald, halt, hold*, faithful.

⁷ Quo nomine vester senior fungitur? Responderunt, nullo. *Dudo de Sto. Quintino*, p. 76.

called by the same name, which the Gauls pronounced *Carles* or *Charles*. The race of the Gallo-Franks still chose their kings from this old family, through a custom of which most of them began to be weary. The grandson of Charles felt that it would soon be with his own race as with that of Mere-wig, which his ancestors had degraded. To retard this fatal moment, he bethought himself of courting the alliance and support of Rolf and the pirates encamped about Rouen. He requested a conference with them on the banks of the Epte; whither the chief of the Normans repaired with his principal followers: and a treaty was concluded, by which Charles formally ceded to the men of the north, as the price of the friendship which they swore to him, the whole of the country, the towns, and the fortified places, which they occupied between the river Epte and the sea.¹

The king had a daughter named Ghisela:² he offered her as a wife to the Danish chief; and Rolf accepted her, finding, says an old historian, that she was of a suitable height.³ Rolf placed his hands in those of King Charles, as his faithful servant, his soldier, and count of the territory the possession of which was confirmed to him: he swore to preserve to the king his life, his limbs, and his royal dignity; and, in return, the king and his Frank counts swore to preserve to Rolf his life, his limbs, his dignity of count, and his land.⁴ That he might be acknowledged in the Christian world as the lawful chief of his new province, the Danish prince received baptism; and, during the seven days that he wore the white robe of the catechumens, the priests who instructed him made him each morning give some portion of land to the churches and saints of the country. The new territory of Normandy was measured by the line,⁵ and divided amongst all the Danish captains and soldiers who chose to settle in it; they became, according to their rank, lords of the towns and the country⁶—sovereign proprietors of larger or smaller domains. Newly made Christians, foreigners and robbers as they were, their dominion seemed to the natives to be milder than the ancient rule of

¹ *Snorre Sturleson's Heimskringla*, tom. i. p. 100. *Dudo de Sto. Quintino*, pp. 70-83. *Guillelm. Pulauiensis*, p. 192. *Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 324. *Flodoardi Presbyteri Historia*.

² *Gesell*, a companion.

³ *Staturæ proceritate congrua*. *Dudo de Sto. Quintino*, p. 82.

⁴ *Vitam suam, et membra, et honorem, et terram denominatam*. *Dudo de Sto. Quintino*, p. 84.

⁵ *Funiculo divisa*. *Ibid.* p. 85.

⁶ *Seniores, Domini*.

the sons of the Franks; and many artisans and labourers emigrated from the lands of the Franks to the new country of Normandy.¹

The sons of the old companions of Rolf showed themselves as eager for territorial conquest as their fathers had been for plunder, extending their frontiers to the north and to the south, sometimes by new treaties with the men of France, sometimes by force and in spite of them. They invaded the country of Bayeux, which was still inhabited by an ancient Saxon tribe, and preserved its Germanic idiom in the midst of a country whose language was Roman.² This conquest was soon followed by that of the peninsula of Coutances,³ as far as Mount St. Michael; and from that time Normandy was contiguous to the territory of the Britons of Gaul, or *Lower Brittany*. The Gallo-British people were constantly hated by the Gallo-Franks, against whom they had more than once asserted their national independence, replying to the kings who demanded tribute for them, "We pay tribute willingly, but we pay it in iron."⁴ This little people, in whom the want of real strength had been supplied by their dauntless spirit, soon found themselves exposed to a double danger; for to the attacks of their old enemies of France was joined the formidable hostility of their new neighbours of Normandy. The latter, active and artful, left them no repose; after laying waste the country of the Bretons, they sowed dissensions among them by their intrigues; and from their establishment may be dated the progressive decline of Breton independence, until then so gloriously maintained.⁵

By favour of the quarrels which arose between them and the kings of the Frank country, the Normans encroached on the east, nearly to the junction of the Seine and the Oise,⁶ while on the south their territory was limited by the little river Bresle, and on the south-west by the Coesoron. The inhabitants of this country were all called Normans by those of France, and by the foreigners of the south and north, excepting the Danes and Norwegians, who gave this name, to

¹ *Advenis gentibus referta . . . lætabantur homines securi sub ejus tuitione morantes. Dudo de Sto. Quintino, pp. 85, 86.*

² *Otlinga Saxonica. Diplom. Caroli Calvi. See Book I.*

³ *Constanciensis.*

⁴ *Ferreæ dona. Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen de Ludovico Imperatore, apud Script. Rer. Franc., tom. vi.*

⁵ *Hist. de Bretagne, par D. Lobineau, tom. ii. pp. 31-47. Dudo de Sto. Quintino, pp. 92, 93.*

⁶ *Guillelm. Gemetecensis, Hist. Norman., p. 316.*

them an honourable one, only to that part of the population which was really of the Norman race and language.¹ This, the least numerous portion, acted towards the mass, whether natives or emigrants from other parts of Gaul, the same part which the descendants of the Franks had acted towards the descendants of the Gauls. The mere appellation of *Norman* was, at first, a title of nobility; it was the sign of liberty and power—of the right to levy imposts on the villains, the townspeople, and the serfs of the country.² All the Normans, by name and origin, were equal in civil rights, though unequal in political or military rank. None of them were taxed without their own consent; none were subject to the toll for the carriage of their provisions or the navigation of the rivers; and all enjoyed the privilege of hunting and fishing, to the exclusion of the villains and farmers.³

The latter, forcibly struck by the contrast of these two existences so widely different, resolved, a century after the founding of the new state of which they were the oppressed portion, to destroy the inequality of the two races, to conquer the rank of Normans, and raise themselves to it at once, so that the country might contain but one people, as it bore but one name. To execute this generous design, secret assemblies were formed in all the cantons of Normandy.⁴ The assembly of each canton appointed two deputies,⁵ who were commissioned to lay their claims before a great central assembly.⁶ But no sooner had the rumour of these popular movements reached the ears of the descendants of the Danes, than a body of armed men marched to the place where the great council was sitting, and dispersed it at the point of the lance. All the deputies from the cantons were seized, and their hands and feet were cut off as an example to the rest. Thus was stifled, by terror, the great project of deliverance of the peasants of Normandy. Yielding, for themselves and their posterity, to a yoke which they were unable to break, they held no more nocturnal meetings, but (as the ancient historian expresses it) returned to their ploughs.⁷

¹ Normanni Dacigenæ, de patre matreque Dacigena. *Dudo de St. Quintino*, p. 152.

² Servi glebæ addicti—*Serfs de corps et de bien*.

³ *Coloni*, cultivators.

⁴ Per diversos totius Normanizæ comitatus plurima agentes conventicula. *Guill. Gemetec. Hist.*, l. v. c. 11, p. 240.

⁵ Ab unoquoque cætu duo legati. *Ibid.*

⁶ Ad mediterraneum conventum. *Ibid.*

⁷ Concionibus subito omissis, ad aratra sunt reversi. *Ibid.* p. 240.

When this memorable event occurred, the difference of language which had at first marked the separation of the great from the little of Normandy, had almost ceased to exist; and it was by his genealogy that the Dane was distinguished from the Gaul. Even in the town where the successors of Rolf resided, where the council of chiefs was held, where the laws of the country were made, no other language was spoken at the beginning of the eleventh century than the native tongue called Roman or French. The town of Bayeux alone, where the Danes who established themselves there found a population whose Saxon idiom bore a considerable affinity to that of the Scandinavians, preserved until a later period a language composed of two Germanic dialects, but still intelligible to the emigrated Danes.¹ There the sons of the chiefs and the rich were sent, to learn to converse with the men of their ancient country, who sometimes visited them.² The men of Denmark and Norway maintained relations of alliance and affection with Normandy, so long as they found in its language the sign of an ancient national fraternity; but so soon as that sign had entirely disappeared, the Normans were no longer the natural allies of the Danes, who even ceased to call them Normans, and named them French, Romans, or Welches, as they did the other inhabitants of Gaul.³

This revolution seemed already complete, when Ethel-red King of England married the sister of the Norman chief Rik-hard,⁴ or *Richard* according to the Roman pronunciation. It may well be supposed that, but for total separation of the Gallo-Norman branch from the northern stem, the Saxon king would not have conceived the hope of receiving assistance from the grandson of Rolf against the Scandinavian pirates. The want of zeal in the Norman Richard to give aid to his brother-in-law, arose from no conscientious scruple or moral repugnance, but simply from his not seeing in this interference anything favourable to his own interest, which he was skilful in

¹ *Lingua Saxonica. In Capital. Caroli Calvi.* See Book I. Rotomagensis civitas Romana potius quam Danisca utitur eloquentia et Baiensis fruitur frequentius Danisca lingua quam Romana. *Guill. Gemet.*

² . . . Voil qu'il seit à tele escole
que as Daneis sache parler
ci (à Rouen) ne savent rien forz romanz
mais à Baiues en a tanz
qui ne savent si Daneis non.

Roman de Rou, par Maistre Wace ou Gace.

³ See Book VI. Francigenæ, Romani, Walli.

⁴ *Rik*, powerful, stout; *hard*, *hart*, strong, strongly.

discerning and ardent in pursuing, conformably with the character which already distinguished the inhabitants of Normandy.

While Ethel-red was sharing his brother-in-law's hospitality, the English, subject to the foreigner, regretted, as at the time of Elf-red's flight, the loss of their national despot. Swen, whom in the year 1014 they had allowed to take the title of King of England, died in the same year, so suddenly that there is reason for attributing his death to some burst of patriotic indignation. The Danish soldiers cantoned in the towns or stationed in their ships, chose as his successor his son Knut,¹ who was then on a mission to the country near the Humber, to deposit there the contributions and the hostages of the southern English. The latter, encouraged by his absence, deliberated on sending a messenger to the fugitive in Normandy, to tell him, in the name of the Anglo-Saxon people, that they would take him again for their king if he would promise to govern them better for the future.²

In answer to this message, Ethel-red sent over his son Ed-ward, charging him to salute in his name the whole English nation,³ and to promise that he would for the future conduct himself like a faithful king,⁴ amend what was displeasing to the people, and consign to oblivion all which the people had done or said against himself. The amity sworn between the nation and the king was confirmed on either side by pledges mutually given.⁵ The assembly of the Anglo-Saxon sages pronounced against every Dane who should entitle himself King of England a sentence of perpetual outlawry;⁶ and Ethel-red resumed his honours. But it is not exactly known over what extent of territory he reigned; for the Danish garrisons, though driven from some towns, kept possession of many others, and the great city of London itself remained in their power; perhaps the great way called *Wæthling-street* had once more become the line of demarcation betwixt the free and the conquered country. Knut, dissatisfied with the portion which the Anglo-Saxons com-

¹ *Cnut, Knot, Knyt*, a knot. In Latin, *Cnuto, Canutus*.

² *Modo eos rectius gubernaret. Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 145. Heimskringla, p. 10. Mathæus Westmon., p. 202.*

³ *Gretan ealne his Leodscipe. Chron. Sax., p. 145.*

⁴ *Hold, Hlaford. Ibid.*

⁵ *Factis pignoribusque. Ibid.*

⁶ *Utlagede of Engla-land. Ibid. p. 145. Lag signifies at once, country, state, statute law,—from the verb lagan, to place, to establish. Utlage signifies a man banished or outlawed.*

pelled him to accept, returned in fury, landed near Sandwich, and had the hostages, which his father had received, mutilated on the shore.¹ This cruelty was the signal for a war which Ethel-red, faithful to his late oath, sustained for two years amidst various successes and reverses. At his death, the English chose for their king, not one of his legitimate children, who had been left in Normandy, but Ed-mund his bastard son, surnamed Ironside,² who had given proof of his valour in the battles with the foreigners. Ed-mund retrieved by his activity the wavering fortunes of the English people; he retook London from the Danes, and fought five great battles against them.³

After one of these battles, fought on the southern border of the county of Warwick, one of the Danish captains, named Ulf,⁴ having wandered apart from his followers in their flight, came to a wood, in which he lost his way. After walking in vain the whole night, he met, at daybreak, a young peasant with a drove of oxen. Ulf saluted him, and asked him his name. "I am called God-win⁵ son of Ulf-noth,"⁶ answered the shepherd; "and thou, if I mistake not, art of the Danish army." The Dane, being thus compelled to confess, prayed the young man to tell him how far he might still be from the vessels stationed in the Severn or the neighbouring rivers, and by what road it would be possible for him to reach them. "Foolish indeed," replied God-win, "is the Dane who expects his safety from a Saxon."⁷ Ulf entreated the shepherd to leave his cattle and show him the way, making the promises most likely to prevail over a poor and simple man. "The way is not long," returned the Saxon; "but it would be dangerous for me to lead thee into it. The peasants, encouraged by our victory of yesterday, are armed throughout the country, and would show no favour, neither to thee nor to thy guide."⁸ The chief took a gold ring from his finger and

¹ *Præcis* eorum manibus, eorumque nasis. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 145.

² *Iren-side*, Iron-side. The Danish historians supply this surname by the word *Ewn-sterki*, the strong.

³ *Chron. Sax.*, pp. 148-150. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 362. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 72. *Math. West.*, p. 204. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 892.

⁴ *Ulf*, wulf, hulf, succour, succouring.

⁵ *God*, good; *win*, dear, well-beloved.

⁶ *Noth*, not, ned, nyd, useful, necessary.

⁷ Nulli Danorum merito auxilium ab Anglis requiri. *Torfsæ Historia Norweg.*, tom. ii. p. 37.

⁸ Adeo ut nec ipsi, nec cuivis alio, nedum itineris duci, spes evadendi effulgeat, si a rusticis deprehendatur. *Ibid.*

presented it to the shepherd, who took it, contemplated it for a few moments, and then returned it, saying, "I will take nothing from thee, but I will try to conduct thee."¹

They passed the day in the cottage of God-win's father ; and when night came, and they were on the point of departing, the old peasant said to the Dane, "Know that it is my only son who trusts himself to thy honour ; there will be no safety for him amongst his countrymen when he has served thee as a guide ; present him, therefore, to thy king, that he may receive him into his service."² Ulf promised to do much more for God-win ; and he kept his word : on their arrival at the Danish camp, he made the peasant's son sit in his own tent, on a seat as elevated as his own, and treated him as his own son.³ He obtained a military command for him from King Knut ; and at length, the Saxon shepherd rose to the rank of governor of a province in the part of England occupied by the Danes. This man, who from the keeper of a flock became a political chief in his country through the power of the foreigner, was destined to play twice, in the same country, the part of a destroyer of the foreign supremacy. In this new character he will shortly appear ; and then, perhaps, the reader will feel some interest in recollecting the romantic adventure which caused young God-win to enter the ranks of the enemies of his native land, there to acquire a renown and an authority without which he could never have rendered to that land such eminent services.

The victories of the Anglo-Saxons over the Danish invaders led to an armistice, and a truce which was solemnly sworn in presence of the two armies, by the kings Ed-mund and Knut. They gave to each other the name of brother,⁴ and with common consent made the Thames the limit of their respective kingdoms. On the death of Ed-mund, the Danish king passed this limit, which was to have been inviolable ; and, taking the English by surprise, he, by means of terror and intrigues, extended his royalty, almost without a contest, over the countries of the south and west, and the English chiefs took the oath of allegiance to him as king of all England. Knut in return swore to reign in justice and benevolence, and touched their hands with his naked hand, in token of

¹ Annulum non accepturum operam tamen ei paraturum. *Ibid.*

² Neque enim ei amplius, apud populares suos tutum . . . ut famulatio ejus inseretur. *Torſæi Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. p. 37.

³ Filii loco habuit. *Ibid.*

⁴ Simul fratres adoptivi. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 363. *Encom. Emmae*, p. 171. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 72.

sincerity.¹ But no sooner had the foreigner been saluted as king of the English, than he began to proscribe those whom he had promised to love. The principal chiefs, a great number of those who in the Saxon language were called half-kings or subaltern kings, leaders of armies, ancients of the people, rich men, men of war,² and in particular the relations of Ed-mund and Ethel-red, were banished or delivered over to the executioner. "Whoever shall bring me the head of one of my enemies," the Dane would say when speaking of them, "will be dearer to me than a brother."³ He had the children of the late king transported into Scandinavia, in order that they might be assassinated: but the man who had undertaken to execute this design, suffered them to escape; and they fled to the south of the country of the Allemands, among the Hungarians, a Slavonic people, whose chief gave them welcome.⁴

Among the national magistrates who were then banished from England, historians mention one Ed-wig, whom they call *Kerla-kyng*, the king of the peasants.⁵ This Saxon expression is a proof that the title of *kyng* or *king* had not then that one and absolute sense which the moderns attach to it, but vaguely denoted distinction of commander or protector, in various degrees and under various forms. The Anglo-Saxon husbandmen or peasants had their particular king, perhaps because the king of the whole nation was more especially the king of the warriors, those who were rich enough to equip themselves at their own expense with offensive and defensive arms. Towards the interests of the class of the warriors or *theyns*,⁶ amongst whom his life was passed, the king of the English must naturally have inclined the balance of his power. In order, therefore, that the other class, that of the labourers, the artisans, and the poor, those who in the Saxon language did not bear the title of *men of the sword*, but simply that of *kerls*,⁷

¹ *Accepto pignore de manu sua nuda. Rogerii de Hoveden. Annales, p. 436.*

² *Reguli, Sub-reguli, Half-kyningas, Here-togas, Ealder-menn, Yldestan, Rice-menn, Best-menn, Eadigan, Land-blaforde, Thegnas.*

³ *Florent. Wigorn., pp. 390, 391.*

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 151. Henrici Huntingd., p. 363. Math. Westm., p. 206.*

⁵ *Or Ceorla-kyng, Cheorla-kyng.*

⁶ *Thegn, degn, deggen, a sword; and, by extension, a man of the sword, a brave man, a man of courage or virtue.*

⁷ *The Saxons wrote ceorlas; the Franks Karla, and of this word made a proper name. See p. 87.*

might not be entirely sacrificed to the former, it was necessary that they should have a representative to plead their cause and to defend them before the chief of the country, and sometimes also against that chief before the great public council. Whether this conjecture be well founded or not, it is historically demonstrated that there was not that enormous distance betwixt the warlike class and that of the Anglo-Saxon peasants which existed in Gaul betwixt the Frank-men and the farmers to the Franks. The proudest of the kings of Saxon England, those whom the extent of their power and the majesty which they affected seemed to place in a sphere inaccessible to the artisan and the poor farmer, repeatedly received addresses couched in the following terms: "Most dear —, the whole country of Kent, bishops, magistrates, warriors and peasants, give thanks to thee, their well-beloved chief, for the pains which thou hast taken for the general peace and the common advantage of us all, whether rich or poor."¹

The two legitimate sons of Ethel-red, to whom the assembly of the English chiefs had formerly preferred the bastard Ed-mund, were still in Normandy with their mother Emma.² Their uncle, *Count* or *Duke* Richard (for historians give him either title indifferently) took no measure in their favour sufficient to engage the Saxon people to recall them, by rebelling against the Danish king, who was both their and his enemy. On the contrary, he entered into a friendly negotiation with the enemy of his nephews, and, which was still more extraordinary, offered him his sister Emma, their own mother, in marriage. Emma, flattered by the idea of once more becoming the wife of a king, consented to marry Knut, leaving it doubtful, say the old authors, whether her brother or herself was the most dishonoured.³ Becoming shortly the mother of another son to whom his father's power promised a fortune quite different from that of the sons of Ethel-red, the Norman woman neglected and despised her first-born; and they, being kept far from England, gradually became strangers to their own country, and unlearned the language and manners of the Saxon people.

¹ Carissime, Episcopi tui de Kent et omnis Kent-scire, Thaini, Comites, et Villani, tibi domino suo delectissimo, gratias agunt. *Epistola ad Athelstanum Regem.*—*Johannes Brompton*, p. 850.

² The Saxons, thinking this name not sufficiently conformable to the genius of their language, called her *Elf-gife* or *Elf-give*, from *elf*, genius; and *gif*, give, given.

³ Ignores majori illius dedecore qui dederit, an feminæ quæ consenserit. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 73.

Meanwhile, Knut the Dane studied to make the English forget his foreign origin; he did not cease to be a hard master to them, but he strove to give his conquered power the semblance of a native despotism. His mother-tongue differed but little from the Saxon; and he composed verses intelligible to both the races that inhabited England.¹ The son of an apostate from Christianity,² he made himself appear a zealous Christian, was the friend of the monks, visited relics, and founded convents. He rebuilt the churches which his father and himself had burned when they were marine robbers;³ erected a chapel over the tomb of Ed-mund the last king of the East-Saxons, whom the Danes had shot to death with arrows; and, at the solicitation of the English bishops, caused to be removed from London to Canterbury the body of Archbishop Elf-eg, who was honoured, like Ed-mund, with the titles of saint and martyr, for having resisted unto death the invaders of England. The inhabitants of London having purchased the remains of Elf-eg, refused to give them up; but the son of the pirate took them away by military force, and had them placed in his royal vessel, which, like that of his father Swen, was decorated at the prow with a gilded dragon's head.⁴

It was not long before the fortunate conqueror of England felt desirous of forming an alliance with the friend of all conquerors, with him who poured blessed oil on the heads of the strong to confer upon them a divine right over the weak.⁵ Knut appeared worthy of the friendship of the common father of all barbarous potentates. He obtained it—not without paying for it, but with other men's goods, with the gold of the subjugated. Several of the Anglo-Saxon kings, at the time when England was divided into independent sovereignties, had sent annual contributions to the Church of Rome, either to purchase a better reception for the pilgrims from their respective countries,⁶ or for the maintenance of the schools where the English went to study, or, lastly, for the luminaries

¹ Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely, &c. *Ballad of Knut*.—*Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*, tom. iii. p. 317.

² Mallet.—*Histoire du Danemark*.

³ Cum terram Angliæ progenitores mei diris deprædationibus sæpius oppressissent. *Diplom. Chnuti, apud Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 873.

⁴ Regia navis aureis rostrata draconibus. *Vita Elfegi, in Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 146. *Snorre*, p. 265. *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 286. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 709. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 892. *Guil. Gemeticensis*, p. 253. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 73.

⁵ See p. 88.

⁶ Rom-skat, Rom-skeat, Rom-scot

of the apostles Peter and Paul.¹ These contributions were then paid but irregularly, according to the zeal of the people. The Danish invasions suspended them; but Knut, the son of a pagan, surpassing in his bounty to the Church the most devout of the Saxon kings, established throughout England a uniform and perpetual tax, which in the words of his ordinances, was to be raised every year, *to the praise and glory of the God-king*, on St. Peter's day.² Knut resolved to go and receive thanks in person for his gifts; and departed for the City of the Saints with a great retinue, carrying a wallet at his back and a long staff in his hand. After his pilgrimage, when he was about to return into the north, he addressed the following letter to the English nation: ³—

“Knut, King of England and Denmark, to all bishops and primates, and to the whole English people, greeting.—I hereby inform you that I came to Rome for the redemption of my sins and the salvation of my kingdoms. I most humbly render thanks to Almighty God that He has vouchsafed me the grace to visit in person once in my life His most holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints who have their dwelling-place either within or without the walls of the Roman city. I determined on this journey, because I had learned from the mouths of wise men, that the apostle Peter has a great power of binding and unbinding, and that he holds the key of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore it was that I deemed it good to solicit in an especial manner his favour and patronage.⁴

“There has been held here, during the paschal solemnity, a great assembly of illustrious persons, viz. Pope John, the Emperor Kun-rad,⁵ and the first men of all the nations⁶ from Mount Garganus to our own sea. All have received me with distinction, and honoured me with rich presents. I have received vessels of gold and silver, and stuffs and garments of great price.⁷ I have conversed with the emperor and

¹ Ad luminaria Petri et Pauli.

² Rom-feh, id est Romæ census quem beato Petro, singulis annis reddendum, ad laudem et gloriam Dei regis, nostra larga benignitas semper instituit, in festo Sti. Petri reddatur. *Leges Cnuti, apud Jo. Brompton*, p. 919.

³ *Torfæus. Hist. Norweg.*, p. 225. *Script. Rer. Danic. Ditmarus*, p. 493.

⁴ Clavigerumque esse regni cælestis, ut ideo valde utile duxi . . . *Florentii Wigorn. Hist.*, p. 620.

⁵ *Kun, Kuhn, Chun*, bold; *red, rad*, counsellor.

⁶ Omnes principes gentium. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 620.

⁷ Tam in vasis aureis atque argenteis, quam in palliis et vestibus valde pretiosis. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 620.

with our lord the Pope, concerning the wants of the people of my kingdoms, Englishmen as well as Danes. I have endeavoured to obtain for my people justice and security in their journeys to Rome, and especially that they may not in future be detained on the road by the closing of the passes, nor vexed by enormous tolls.¹ I have also complained to our lord the Pope of the enormous sums of money hitherto exacted from my archbishops, when they have repaired to the apostolic see, according to custom, to receive the pallium; and it has been decided that this shall not be the case in future.²

"I purpose to return to England this summer, as soon as the preparations for my embarkation shall be completed. All you, the bishops and officers of my kingdom of England, I pray and command, by the faith which you owe to God and to me,³ to take measures that all my debts to God may be discharged before my return,⁴—viz. the alms for ploughs, the tithe of animals brought forth within the year, and the pence due to St. Peter from every house in the towns and villages; besides the tithe of the harvest in the middle of August, and the first of the seed at Martinmas.⁵ If, at my arrival, which will be shortly, the whole of these contributions be not paid, let the royal power be exercised against the delinquents, to the utmost rigour of the law, without any mercy."⁶

The friendship of the Church was as advantageous to the son of Swen as it had formerly been to the first and second races of the invaders of Gaul.⁷ Knut became the conqueror of all the countries of the north as far as the Elbe, as Karl the Great or Charlemagne had been of those of the south. He employed the money and arms of the subjugated English in subjugating the men of his own race. He dethroned the kings of Norway and the countries on the Baltic sea, and entitled himself king and emperor of all the North, by the grace of Christ the king of kings.⁸ At his death, the priests whom he enriched, and whose churches he never visited without placing some golden gift on each altar, sung in

¹ Ne tot clausuris per viam arceantur, nec teloniis. *Ibid.* p. 620.

² Decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat. *Ibid.*

³ Per fidem quam Deo et mihi debetis. *Flor. Wig.*, p. 620.

⁴ Omnia debita quæ Deo debemus sint soluta. *Ibid.*

⁵ Quæ Anglice Circe-sceat (Kirke-skæt) nominantur. *Ibid.*

⁶ Districte absque venia. *Ibid.*

⁷ See Book I. pp. 33-35.

⁸ Ego Imperator Knuto a Christo rege regum regiminis potitus. *Diploma Knuti, apud Wilkin's Concilia.*

their well-paid hymns that the nations were in tears for the death of the great king.¹ But the first thought of the northern nations was to dissolve the empire of Knut, as those of the south had dissolved the empire of Karl.² The Norwegians expelled the son of the Danish conqueror, and chose one of their own nation for their chief, in an assembly in which the labourers of the country³ voted in immense numbers. As complete a revolution did not take place in England: the Danish power wore too formidable an aspect for the conquered at once to break all terms with the conquerors;⁴ they confined themselves to silent and indirect attacks on the foreign dominion.

The Danish king left three sons, of whom one only, named *Hard-knut*,⁵ that is, Knut the *strong* or *hard*, was born of his Norman wife Emma; the others were the children of a former wife. Knut, when dying, had expressed a desire that the son of Emma should succeed him. The expression of such a wish was usually all-powerful with those by whom the kings were chosen: but Hard-knut was in Denmark; and the Danes of England, urged to an immediate choice by the necessity of being strong and united against the discontented Saxons, took another of the sons of Knut, named Her-ald,⁶ for their king. This election, though it was the wish of the majority, had some opposers, whom the English eagerly joined, in order to nourish and inflame the domestic quarrel of their masters. The western provinces, which, during the whole time of the conquest, were always the first to rebel and the last to submit, proclaimed King Hard-knut; while, in London, the Danish soldiers and sailors proclaimed Her-ald. This political schism divided England afresh into two zones separated by the Thames. The north was for Her-ald, and the south for the son of Emma; but the struggle which ensued under these two names was in reality a struggle between the two great

¹ *Emmæ Reginae Encomium*, p. 174.

² See p. 93.

³ Indictis ibi comitiis, postquam eo accesserat magna colonorum turba. *Saga af Magnusi, Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii.

⁴ Præsidia Danorum in Anglia ne Anglici a Danorum dominio liberarentur. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. ii. p. 207. *Torfsæi Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. pp. 156-220. *Heimskringla, Snorre*, tom. ii. p. 213. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. i. p. 159.

⁵ Or *Harda-knut, Horda-knut, Hartha-knut*.

⁶ Dani Londonienses. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 905. Tha Lithsmen on Lunden. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 154. Her, eminent, chief; ald, hold, faithful. The Saxons write *Har-old*.

interests of the conquerors, who were all-powerful north of the Thames, and the conquered, who were not very weak in the south.¹

The ancient province of West-Sex, or of the West Saxons, was then governed, under the Danish authority, by God-win, the Saxon peasant's son whom Knut had raised from obscurity. Whether it was that God-win had long meditated the project of employing for the deliverance of his nation the power which he had received in order to keep it in slavery, or that such a desire was awakened by the present occasion, or that he had even some personal affection for the beloved son of King Knut, united with a secret love for the liberty of his country, he placed himself at the head of the Saxon and Danish partisans of Hard-knut, and called the late king's widow into the West. She went thither accompanied by some Danish troops,² and carrying with her a part of her husband's treasures. God-win took the office of general-in-chief and protector of the kingdom, in the name and during the absence of Emma's son;³ and received for Hard-knut the oaths of fealty of all the population of the south. This insurrection, ambiguous in its nature, being in one point of view the struggle of two pretenders, and in another the war of two nations, did not extend north of the Thames; for there the mass of the Saxon inhabitants swore allegiance, like the Danes, to King Her-ald: there was only some individual resistance; such as that of Ethel-noth,⁴ an Englishman by birth, and Archbishop of Canterbury, who refused to consecrate the king elected by the foreigners, and to present to him, with the accustomed ceremony, the staff and diadem of the Saxon kings.⁵ Her-ald was crowned by his own hand, without the benediction of any priest; and reviving in himself the old spirit of his ancestors, conceived a settled hatred against Christianity. He would choose the time of prayer, when the people were going to church, to go out with his dogs and order his table to be prepared.⁶

A violent war between the south and the north of England,

¹ *Guillelm. Pictaviensis*, p. 178. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 76.

² *Mid Huscarlum. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 154.

³ *Tutorem pupillorum se professus, Reginam Emmam et regias gazas custodiens. Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 76. *Godwinus vero consul dux esset in re militari. Henrici Huntingd. Se healdest man. Chron. Saxon.*

⁴ *Ethel*, noble; *noth*, useful.

⁵ *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 174.

⁶ *Dum alii ecclesiam missam audire intrarent. Encomium Emmæ*, p. 174. *Rogierius de Hoved.*, p. 438. *Chron. Sax.*, p. 154.

between the Saxon and Danish populations, seemed inevitable. This expectation caused a sort of panic among those of the Anglo-Saxon race who inhabited the country on the left bank of the Thames; ¹ for they knew that the first blow from the irritated foreigner would fall upon them, although they had remained quiet. A great number of families quitted their homes to seek a safer asylum in the forests and desert places. Troops of men and women, dragging with them their children and their movables, reached the marshes which extended for more than a hundred miles in the four counties of Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Northampton. ² This tract, which had the appearance of one vast lake strewn with islands, was inhabited only by monks, for whom some of the ancient and devout kings had built great houses, in the midst of the water, upon piles and earth brought from a distance. ³ The poor fugitives cantoned themselves in the willow woods which covered these fens; and, as they wanted many of the necessaries of life and were idle the whole of their time, they besieged with solicitations or with visits of simple curiosity the monks of Crowland, Peterborough, and the other neighbouring abbeys. They went backwards and forwards incessantly, to ask assistance, advice, or prayers; ⁴ and followed the heels of the monks or the servants of the convents, to implore their pity. ⁵ The monks, who would have thought they were displeasing God by sympathising with human creatures, shut themselves up in their cells, and deserted the cloister and the church, because of the crowds which assembled there. ⁶ A hermit who lived alone in the marshes of Pegeland ⁷ was so terrified at suddenly finding himself amid the bustle of mankind, that he abandoned his hut, and fled to seek other deserts.

The war so much desired on one side of the Thames, and so much dreaded on the other, did not take place; for the absence of Hard-knut was prolonged; his Danish partisans began to fall off; ⁸ and the southern English thought that the

¹ Sola suspicione belli supervenientis. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 905.

² Cum suis parvulis ac catallis omnibus mobilibus ad mariscorum uligines. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 905.

³ *Willelm. Malmesb. Vitæ Pontificum*, p. 292.

⁴ Tota die in claustrum irruentes. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 905.

⁵ De suis indigentibus cum blanditiis allicere. *Ibid.*

⁶ Vix de dormitorio ausi sunt descendere. *Ibid.*

⁷ Vulfinus anachorita. *Ibid.*

⁸ Quod in Danemarcia moras nexuerit. *Rogeri de Hoveden Annales*, p. 438.

moment was not yet arrived for raising their national standard, as favourers no longer of a Danish pretender, but as the enemies of all Danes. The Norman woman whose presence served to give the insurrection a less offensive colour in the eyes of the foreign power made peace with that power, and delivered up the treasures of Knut to the rival of her own son. God-win and the chiefs of the West Saxons, being forced by her desertion to acknowledge Her-ald as their king, swore obedience to him, and Hard-knut was forgotten.¹ At the same time, a curious event happened, the account of which has been handed down to us enveloped in great obscurity. It should appear that a letter was sent from Emma, who lived in London on good terms with King Her-ald, to the two sons of Ethel-red in Normandy; and that in this letter their mother informed them that the Anglo-Saxon people seemed disposed to make one of them king and throw off the Danish yoke; she therefore invited them to repair secretly to England, in order to confer with herself and her friends.² Whether this letter was true or fictitious, the sons of Ethel-red received it with joy; and the younger of the two, named Elf-red, with the consent of his brother, embarked with a troop of Norman and Boulognese³ soldiers, which was contrary to the instructions of Emma, if indeed it be true that the invitation came from her.⁴

The young Elf-red landed at Dover, and advanced into the country south of the Thames, which was the least dangerous for him and his companions, as the Danish inhabitants were not very numerous. God-win went to meet him, perhaps to try what he was capable of, and to concert with him some plan of deliverance. He found him surrounded by foreigners, who had followed him to share that fortune which he was to owe to the English; and the good dispositions of the western chief were suddenly changed into ill-will towards Elf-red. An ancient historian makes God-win deliver a speech on this occasion before an assembly of the Saxon chiefs, in which he represents to them that Elf-red has come escorted by too many Normans; that he has promised these Normans possessions in England; and that they ought not to suffer the intro-

¹ Rex plenarius. Full kyng ofer eall Engla-land. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*

² Rogo unus vestrum ad me velociter et private veniat. *Encomium Emmæ,*

p. 174.

³ Milites non parvi numeri. *Guill. Gemeticensis*, p. 271.

⁴ *Jo. Brompton*, p. 939. *Ed. Selden. Encomium Emmæ*, pp. 175, 176.

duction into the country of a race of foreigners, notorious for their artifice and audacity.¹ Whether any such harangue was made or not, Elf-red was abandoned by God-win and the Saxons,² who, indeed, had not called him over, nor drawn him into the peril in which they left him. The officers of the Danish king, having received information of his presence, surprised him with his Normans in the town of Guildford, while they were unarmed and distributed in different houses; and they were all seized and bound, without any attempt being made to defend them.³

Of Elf-red's ten companions, nine were beheaded, one alone having his life granted him. He was himself carried into the Isle of Ely, in the heart of the Danish territory, and brought before judges who condemned him to lose his eyes, as a violator of the peace of the country. His mother Emma took no step to save him from this torture, of which he died. "She abandoned the orphan," says an old chronicler;⁴ and other historians reproach her with having been an accomplice in his death.⁵ There is reason to doubt this latter assertion; but it is a singular circumstance that Emma, being afterwards banished by King Her-ald's order, did not repair to Normandy, where her own relations and Ethel-red's second son resided, but went to seek a foreign asylum in Flanders,⁶ and from thence addressed the son of Knut in Denmark, calling upon him to avenge his half-brother, the son of Ethel-red the Saxon, who, said Emma, had been betrayed by God-win and assassinated by Her-ald.⁷

God-win's treason was the cry of the Normans, who, through a blind resentment, accused the Saxons rather than the Danes of the murder of their countrymen, the victims of a too hazardous enterprise. There are, besides, a multitude of versions of this affair,⁸ no one of which is supported by a

¹ Nimiam Normannorum copiam secum adduxisse, gentem fortissimam et subdolum inter se instirpare Anglis non securum esse. *Henrici Huntingd. Hist.*

² Compatriotarum perfidia, et maxime Godwini. *Ibid.*

³ *Rogerii de Hoved. Hist.*, p. 438. *Ethelredus Rievallensis*, Ed. Selden, p. 366. *Guill. Pict.*, p. 178.

⁴ Invidia deserti orphani. *Will. Malmesb.* Eluredi casum scire nolebat, et Edwardo exuli penitus nil boni faciebat. *Monast. Anglic. Dugdale*, tom. i. p. 24.

⁵ Quidam dicunt Emmam in necem filii sui Alfredi consensisse. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 937.

⁶ *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 364.

⁷ *Rogerus de Hoved.*, p. 438. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 364.

⁸ Diversimode et diversis temporibus. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 937.

sufficient number of testimonies to be regarded as the only true relation. One of the historians most worthy of belief commences his account with these words: "I am about to tell what the relaters of news have reported concerning the death of Elf-red;"¹ and at the end of his narration he adds, "Such is the public rumour, but I can affirm nothing respecting it."² There seems, however, to be no doubt of the death inflicted on the son of Ethel-red and on several Norman soldiers who had come in his train. As for God-win's interview with this young man, and in particular the premeditated treason of which many narrators accuse him, they appear to be fabulous circumstances added to a real occurrence. How little credit soever these fables may be entitled to, they are, nevertheless, of great historical importance on account of the belief which they obtained, and the ulterior influence which this ill-founded belief had on the destinies of the English people.

On the death of Her-ald, the Anglo-Saxons, who still had not sufficient courage to choose a king of their own race, concurred with the Danes in electing the son of Emma and Knut.³ The first public act of Hard-knut, after his accession, was to disinter the body of Her-ald, and, cutting off the head, to throw the body into the Thames. It was found by some Danish fishermen, who buried it afresh at London, in the cemetery reserved for those of their nation, who wished to be distinguished from the English even in their sepulchres.⁴ After this barbarity committed towards a dead brother, Hard-knut made a display of fraternal tenderness by instituting a judicial inquiry into the death of young Elf-red. Himself being a Dane, no one of the Danish race was summoned by his order to appear before the judges; the Saxons alone were charged with a crime which could have been profitable only to their masters. God-win presented himself, according to the Anglo-Saxon laws, attended by several witnesses, who, like himself, swore that he had taken no part, directly or indirectly, in the death of Ethel-red's son. This legal proof did not suffice with the king of foreign birth; and to render it valid, it was necessary for the English chief to accompany it with rich presents, the

¹ Quod rumigeruli spargunt. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 77.

■ Hæc quia fama serit, non omisi; sed, quia chronica tacet, pro solida non asserui. *Ibid.*

³ Anglis et Danis in unam sententiam coeuntibus. *Mathæi Westmonasteriensis Hist.*, p. 76.

⁴ In cæmeterio Danorum. *Ingulf. Croyland.*, p. 905.

detail of which, if not fabulous, would incline us to believe that the Saxon was assisted by many of his countrymen in purchasing the relinquishment of this prosecution, instituted in bad faith. God-win gave the Danish king a ship adorned with gilt metal, and carrying eighty soldiers with gilded helmets, who bore a Danish axe on the left shoulder, a javelin in the right hand, and on each arm a gold bracelet weighing six ounces.¹ A Saxon bishop, named Lef-win, who was likewise accused, justified himself, and bought his discharge in like manner, by presents.²

Hard-knut thirsted more for riches than for the blood of the vanquished. His avidity surpassed even that of his forefathers the kings of the sea. He oppressed the English with tributes; and his tax-gatherers more than once fell victims to the hatred and despair which they excited. The citizens of Worcester killed two of them in the exercise of their odious functions. On hearing of this violence done to the majesty of the conquerors, Lef-ric,³ who governed the territory of the marches, and Sig-ward,⁴ who commanded in Northumbria, two Danish chiefs, united their forces, and marched against the rebellious town, with orders to destroy it by fire and sword: the inhabitants left their houses in a body, and fled to one of the islands formed by the Severn, where they entrenched themselves, and resisted until they wearied the assailants, who left them at liberty to return to their burnt habitations.⁵

Thus the spirit of independence, which the conqueror denominated revolt, gradually revived among the descendants of the Saxons and the Angles. Nor were there wanting sufferings and insults to awaken their regret for the loss of liberty.⁶ The Dane who entitled himself King of England was not the only despot; he was the chief of a whole people of despots. This superior people, of whom the English were subjects and not simple fellow-citizens, did not share their burthens; on the contrary, they partook of the produce of the taxes levied by

¹ Apposuit ille fidei juratæ exenium . . . navem auro rostratam. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 177.

² *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 77.

³ Or *Leaf-ric*. *Lef*, *lief*, *liev*, *lieb*, dear, well-beloved; *rik*, *ric*, strong, brave.

⁴ Or *Sige-weard*. *Sig*, victorious; *ward*, guarding, vigilant.

⁵ *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 77.

⁶ Pro contemptibus quos Angli a Danis sæpius receperunt. *Jo. Brompton.*, p. 934.

their chief, receiving sometimes seven, sometimes twenty marks of silver per man.¹ When the king, in his military reviews or his excursions of pleasure, chose to lodge in the house of a Dane, the Dane was remunerated, sometimes in money, sometimes in cattle which the Saxon peasant had fattened for the table of his conquerors.² But the Saxon's dwelling was the Dane's household, in which the foreigner had food, fire, and bedding, gratuitously. He occupied the place of honour as master, and as a spy upon the owners of the house.³ The head of the family could not drink without the permission of his guest, nor remain seated in his presence. The guest insulted his wife, his daughter, or his servant,⁴ at pleasure; and if any man was so brave as to undertake to defend or avenge them, that man had no longer any security. He was tracked and pursued like a wild beast; a price was set on his head, as on that of the wolves; he became, according to the Anglo-Saxon expression, a *wolf-head*;⁵ and nothing was left for him but to fly to the abode of the wolves, and turn robber in the forests, as the great king Elf-red had formerly done against the foreign conquerors and the natives who shamefully slumbered under the foreign yoke.⁶

All these long-accumulating miseries at length produced their fruits, at the death of Hard-knut, which happened suddenly in the midst of a marriage feast. Before the Danes assembled for the election of a new king, a great insurrectional army was formed, under the conduct of a chief named *Hown*.⁷ The patriotic exploits of this army are at the present day as little known as the name of its chief is obscure; while history has preserved the memory of the most insignificant actions of the royal plunderers descended from Swen. God-win and his son Her-ald, or Har-old according to the Saxon orthography, raised the standard this time for the pure independence of the country, against every Dane, king or pretender, chief or soldier. The

¹ Classiariis suis per singulas naves 20 marcas. *Will. Malm.*, p. 76. Singulis navium remigibus, 7 marcas. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 156. 22 Navibus 21,000 librarum. *Ibid.*

² Danis 2800 lib. ad sumptum hospitii Regis. *Henric. Knighton*, p. 2325.

³ Magna summa animalium bene crassorum. *Ibid.*

⁴ Et sic defloraverunt uxores nostras, et filias, et ancillas. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2325. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 934.

⁵ *Wulf-heofod*. 'This name was given by the Saxons to men outlawed for some great crime. *Wilkin's Collect. Legum et Consilior.*, *passim*.

⁶ See p. 71.

⁷ Collegerunt magnum exercitum qui Howne-here vocabatur a quodam Howne qui ductor eorum extiterat. *Henric. Knighton*, p. 2325. *Hown, hun, chun, kun, kuhn*, bold.

Danes, driven rapidly northward, and chased from town to town, took to their ships, and landed with diminished numbers on the shores of their ancient country.¹ On their return home they related a tale of treason, the romantic circumstances of which may be found detailed in a manner equally fabulous in the histories of various nations. They said that Har-old, the son of God-win, had invited the principal of them to a great banquet, to which the Saxons came armed and attacked them unawares.²

It was, however, no surprise of this kind, but an open war, which put an end to the Danish dominion in England. God-win and his son, at the head of the insurgent nation, played the most distinguished part in this national war. In the moment of deliverance, the whole care of public affairs was confided to the son of Ulf-noth the herdsman, who, by rescuing his country from the hands of the foreigners, had accomplished the singular fortune which he commenced by saving a foreigner and an enemy from the hands of his countrymen.³ God-win, had he wished it, might have been made king of England; very few suffrages would have been refused him: but he chose rather to point out to the English people one who was a stranger to the recent events, who had no enemies and was envied by none—one who was inoffensive to all by his obscurity, and interesting in the eyes of all from his misfortunes; this was Ed-ward the second son of Ethel-red, the man whose brother he was accused of having betrayed and brought to an untimely end. At the instigation of the chief of the West,⁴ a great council, held at Gillingham, decided that a national message should be sent to Ed-ward in Normandy, to announce to him that the people had made him king, on condition of his bringing only a small number of Normans in his train.⁵

Ed-ward obeyed (says the cotemporary chronicle)⁶ and came to England attended by few. He was proclaimed king;

¹ Danos occiderunt, et de partibus Angliæ fugaverunt. *Henric. Knighton*, p. 2325.

² Fecit insimul congregatis magnum convivium. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. ii. p. 208.

³ Regni cura comiti Godwino committitur, donec qui dignus esset eligeretur in regem. *Monast. Angl.*, tom. i. p. 24.

⁴ Godwini consilio . . . Godwini rationibus. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 80.

⁵ Populus universus. Eall folc queas Eadweard to cyng. *Chron. Saxon.*, p. 156. Ita tamen ut paucissimos Normannos secum adduceret. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 365. *Henric. Knighton*, p. 2329.

⁶ *Chron. Sax. Gibson.*

and, according to the Hebrew rites adopted by the Roman church, blessed and consecrated by an archbishop in the great church of Winchester. As he was yet without a wife, he chose the daughter of the powerful and popular man to whom he owed his royalty. Various malevolent reports were circulated respecting this marriage. It was said by some that Ed-ward, fearing the immense authority of God-win, became his son-in-law that he might not have him for an enemy.¹ Others assert that before the election of the new king God-win had exacted from him, upon his oath by God and his soul, a promise that he would marry his daughter.² Be this as it may, Ed-ward received in marriage a person of good education and of great beauty, modesty, and sweetness; she was called *Edith*, a familiar diminutive of the names *Ed-swithe* or *Ethel-swithe*.³ "I have seen her many times in my childhood," says a contemporary, "when I went to visit my father, who was employed in the king's palace. If she met me returning from school, she would question me on my grammar, or my verses, or on logic, in which she was very skilful; and when she had drawn me into the labyrinth of some subtle argument, she never failed to give me three or four crowns through the hands of her woman, and send me to take refreshment in the pantry."⁴ Edith was mild and benevolent to all who approached her. Those who did not admire the somewhat savage pride in the character of her father and her brother, praised her for not resembling them. We find this poetically expressed in one of the Latin verses which were at that time much in vogue: "Edith sprung from God-win, like the rose from the thorn."⁵

On the retreat of the Danish conquerors, the national laws and usages of the Anglo-Saxons, which had for so many years lain buried under the decrees of the foreign police, were brought to light and put in force again by the simple annihilation of the government of the conquest. These ancient laws, the work of several kings and assemblies of sages, had disappeared since the reigns of Ethel-red and his son Ed-mund.⁶ When they were revived in Ed-ward's reign, they were called by the name of the last chief who had observed them;

¹ Metuens tanti viri potentia lædi. *Guil. Gemeticensis*, p. 271.

² Jura mihi in Deum et animam tuam, et filiam meam accepturum in conjugem, et ego tibi dabo regnum Angliæ. *Monast. Angl.*, tom. i. p. 24.

³ *Sventa, swentha, swinth, swith*, a young woman.

⁴ Ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 905.

⁵ Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Eghitam. *Ibid.*

⁶ Leges ab antiquis regibus latas. *Willelm. Malmesh.*, p. 75.

and the English people commonly said that Ed-ward had restored the good laws of his father, Ethel-red. Ethel-red made no laws, nor did Ed-ward decree the establishment of any anterior law; the ancient legal establishment rose again of itself after thirty years of forced obedience to a foreign dominion.¹ The tax of the conquest, which had been levied for thirty years, under the name of Danish tribute, by the foreign soldiers and sailors, was in like manner abolished, not by any gratuitous benevolence on the part of the new king, but because there were no longer any Danes to levy the Danish tribute.²

There were no longer any Danes living in England as lords and masters; all such were driven from the country; but the people who had recovered their freedom did not expel from their houses the laborious and peaceful men who, swearing obedience to the common laws, resigned themselves to a quiet existence as husbandmen or citizens.³ The Saxon people did not make reprisals by levying contributions on them; they did not make their condition worse than their own. In the eastern, and especially in the northern territories, the descendants of the Scandinavians continued to outnumber the Anglo-Saxons. These were distinguished from the central and southern provinces by a slight difference in their idiom and their legal practice,⁴ but they did not manifest the least resistance to the government of the Saxon king. Equality brought together and confounded the two formerly rival races; and this formidable union put a stop to the ambitious projects of the foreign invaders, so that no northern king dared to come with arms in his hands to lay claim to the inheritance of the son of Knut. These kings sent messages of peace and friendship to Ed-ward. "We will leave you," said they, "to reign unmolested over your country; and will content ourselves with those territories which God has given us to rule."⁵

But under the outward appearance of prosperity and in-

¹ Sub nomine regis Edwardi jurantur, non quod ille statuerit, sed quod observaverit. *Willelm. Malmesh.*, p. 75.

² Dæne-geld, Dæna-geold; or *Here-geold*, army tax. *Chron. Sax. Gibson.*

³ Post finitum in Anglia Danorum imperium, reliquæ Thinga manorum cohortis remanserunt. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. ii. p. 455.

⁴ Myrcna laga, West-seaxna-laga, Dæna-laga. See *Hicessii Thesaur. Linguar. Septentrional.*

⁵ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 52. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 897. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 938.

dependence, new germs of servitude and ruin were silently unfolding themselves. Ed-ward, born of a Norman woman and brought up from his infancy in Normandy, had returned almost a stranger to the land of his fathers:¹ the language of his youth had been that of a foreign people; he had grown old among other men and other manners than the manners and men of England; his friends, his companions in pain and pleasure, his nearest relatives, the husband of his sister, were all of the other side of the water. He had sworn to bring with him only a small number of Normans; and he brought only a few: but many came after him; those who had loved him when in exile, or assisted him when in poverty, eagerly beset his palace.² He could not restrain himself from welcoming them to his home and his table, nor even from preferring them to those who were unknown to him, although he held from them his home, his table, and his title. The irresistible sway of old affections led him so far astray from the path of prudence, that he conferred the high dignities and great offices of the country on men born on another soil and without any affection for the land of the English; the national fortresses were placed in the keeping of military Normans; and Norman priests were the intimate advisers, the religious directors and chaplains of the King of England.³

Pretended relations of Ed-ward's passed the strait in shoals, and were sure to be well received. No one who solicited in the Norman⁴ tongue ever met with a refusal. This language banished from the palace the national one, which was an object of ridicule to the foreign courtiers. The English who would please their king, must stammer out their flatteries in this favourite idiom. The ambitious and the intriguing studied it, and spoke it in their houses, as the only one worthy of a man of honourable birth;⁵ they changed their long Saxon mantles for the short cloaks of the Normans; in writing, they imitated the lengthened form of the Norman letters; and instead of signing their names to civil acts, they suspended

¹ Poene in Gallicum transierat. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 895.

² Qui inopiam exulis pauculis beneficiis levarant. *Willem. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

³ Attrahens de Normannia plurimos quos variis dignitatibus promotos in immensum exaltabat. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 895. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 35.

⁴ Gallicum idioma. *Ingulf. Croyl.*

⁵ Tanquam magnum gentilitium. *Ingulf.*, p. 895.

to them seals of wax in the Norman manner. Every one of the national customs, even in the most indifferent things, was abandoned to the lower orders.¹

But these orders, who had shed their blood that England might be free, and were little struck by the graces of the shortened habit and the lengthened writing, thought that, under a national appearance, they found the government of the foreigner silently reviving. God-win, although he was the most elevated and the first in dignity after the king, happily remembered his plebeian origin, and took the part of the people against the Norman favourites. The son of Ulf-noth and his four sons, all brave warriors and enjoying the affection of the people, united in raising their voices against the Norman influence, as they had drawn the sword against the Danish conquerors.² In that very palace of which his daughter and their sister was lady and mistress, they returned insolence for insolence to the parasites and courtiers of Gaul. They turned their exotic modes into derision, and blamed the weakness of the king who gave them his confidence and placed the fortunes of the country in their hands.³

The Normans carefully collected their words, and envenomed them at leisure; they then exclaimed in Edward's ears, that God-win and his sons insulted him outrageously, that their arrogance had no bounds, and that they discovered an ambition of reigning in his place, and a design of betraying him.⁴ But while these accusations passed current in the king's palace, a very different judgment was formed in the popular assemblies,⁵ on the character and conduct of the Saxon chief and his sons. "Is it astonishing," they would say, "that the author and supporter of Edward's reign is indignant at seeing strangers from a foreign nation rise above him? Yet he never utters a reproachful word against the

¹ *Propriam consuetudinem in his et in aliis multis erubescere. Ingulf. Croyl., p. 895.*

² *Godwinum et natos ejus, magnanimos viros et industrios. Willelm. Malmesb., p. 81.*

³ *In familiares ejus et de illius simplicitate solitos nugari. Ibid.*

⁴ *Magna insolentia et infidelitate in regem egisse, æquas sibi partes in imperio vindicans, sæpe insignes facetias in illum jaculari. Willelm. Malmesb., p. 81.*

⁵ *Fole-gemote, scire-gemot, a shire meeting. Burh-gemot, a town meeting. Wic-gemot, idem. Husting, council-house. Hans-hus, a common or public house. Gild-hall, a club. Gild-scipe, an association. See Hickes. Thesaur. Linguar. Septent., on the social Institutions of the Anglo-Saxons.*

man whom he himself made king.”¹ The Norman favourites were called infamous informers and creators of discord and trouble; ² and a long life was wished to the great chief, the chief magnanimous by sea and land.³ Curses were heaped on the fatal marriage of Ethel-red with a Norman woman, that union contracted to save the country from a foreign invasion,⁴ but from which there now resulted a new invasion, a new conquest, under the mask of peace and friendship.

We find a trace, perhaps indeed the original expression, of these national maledictions, in a passage of an ancient historian, in which the singular turn of idea and the vivacity of the language seem to betray the style of the people: “The Almighty must have formed at the same time two plans of destruction for the English race, and have been pleased to lay for them a sort of military ambuscade; ⁵ for He let loose the Danes on one side, and on the other carefully created and cemented the Norman alliance; so that if, by chance, we escaped from the open assaults of the Danes, the unforeseen cunning of the Normans might still be in readiness to surprise us.”⁶

¹ Nunquam tamen contra regem quem semel fastigaverint verbum etiam locutos. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

² Delatores, discordiæ seminatores. *Ibid.*

³ Comes magnanimus per Angliam, terra marique. *Eadmeri Hist. Novorum.*, p. 4.

⁴ Ad tuitionem regni sui. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 359.

⁵ Duplicem contritionem proposuit, et quasi militares insidias adhibuit. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 359.

⁶ Ut si a Danorum manifesta fulminatione evaderent, Normannorum improvisam cautelam certe non evaderent. *Ibid.*

BOOK III

FROM THE ELECTION OF EDWARD TO THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

AMONG those who came from Normandy and France to visit King Edward was one Eustace, who on the other side of the channel bore the title of Count of Boulogne. He governed hereditarily, under the superior authority of the French kings, the town of Boulogne and a small territory adjacent to the ocean; and, as the badge of his dignity as chief of a maritime county, attached to his helmet, when he armed for war, two long plumes formed of whalebone.¹ Eustace had just married Edward's sister, who was the widow of another Frenchman named Gaultier of Mantes.² The new brother-in-law of the Saxon king, with a numerous suite, staid some time at his court. He found the palace full of men born in Gaul, like himself, and speaking the Gallic idiom; so that on his return England appeared to him like a conquered country, where the Normans and the French might venture to do whatever they pleased. After resting in the city of Canterbury, Eustace proceeded towards Dover. At the distance of about a mile from the town, he ordered his escort to halt, dismounted from his travelling palfrey, and mounted the great charger which one of his men led in the right hand:³ then, putting on his coat of mail, he made all his attendants do the same; and in this warlike attire they entered Dover.⁴

They marched insolently through the town, marking out the best houses to pass the night in, and placing themselves there as if by authority. The inhabitants murmured, and one of them had the courage to stop on his threshold the Frenchman who was proceeding to take up his quarters in his house. The foreigner drew his sword and wounded the Englishman, who, hastily arming himself together with his family, attacked and killed him. On hearing of this, Eustace and all his troop quitted their lodgings, remounted their

¹ *Guillelm. Brito.—Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xiii. p. 263.

² *Walterus Medentinus. Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

³ *Dextrarius, destrier.*

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 163. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

horses, and laying siege to the Englishman's house, they massacred him (says the Saxon chronicle) at his own fire-side.¹ They then traversed the town sword in hand, striking the men and women, and crushing the children under their horses' feet.² It was not long before they met a body of armed citizens; and in the conflict which shortly ensued, nineteen of the Boulognese were slain. Eustace fled with the rest of his followers; but, not daring to make for the harbour, and endeavour to embark, he returned towards Gloucester, where King Ed-ward, with his Norman favourites, was then holding his court.³

Eustace and his companions, say the chronicles, made their peace with the king.⁴ He believed, on his brother-in-law's word alone, that all the blame was due to the people of Dover; and, filled with violent wrath against them, sent with all speed for God-win, in whose government this town was comprised. "Go forthwith," said Edward to him, "and chastise by military execution⁵ those who take up arms against my relatives and disturb the peace of the kingdom." God-win, who could not so readily decide in favour of a foreigner against his fellow-countrymen, proposed that, instead of exercising a blind vengeance upon the whole town, the magistrates should, according to the forms of law, be summoned to appear before the king and royal judges, to answer for their conduct. "It is not fit," said he to the king, "that you should condemn without hearing those whom it is your duty to protect."⁶

Edward's anger, inflamed by the clamours of his favourites, was now turned entirely against the English chief, who, being accused of disobedience and rebellion, was summoned to appear before a great council convoked at Gloucester. God-win at first gave himself but little concern about this accusation, thinking that the king's passion would subside and the chiefs would do him justice:⁷ but he soon learned that, by means of the royal influence and the intrigues of the foreigners, the assembly had been seduced and would pronounce sentence

¹ Binnan his agenan heorthe. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 163.

■ Pueros et infantes suorum pedibus equorum contriverunt. *Roger. de Hoved. Annales*, p. 441.

² *Chronici Saxon. Fragmentum apud Glossar. Ed. Lye.*

⁴ Et rex pacem eis dedit. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*

⁵ Mid unfritha. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 163.

⁶ Quos tutari debeas inauditos adjudices. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

⁷ Godwino parvi pendente regis furorem ut momentaneum. *Ibid.*

of banishment upon him and his sons. The father and the sons resolved to oppose their popularity to these manœuvres, and to make an appeal to the English people against the foreign courtiers; although (says the cotemporary chronicle) it was far from their minds to wish to do any violence to their national king.¹

Godwin raised a troop of volunteers in the country south of the Thames, the whole extent of which was under his government. Harold, his eldest son, assembled a number of men along the eastern coasts, between the Thames and the Wash; while his second son, named Sweyn, engaged in this patriotic confederation the inhabitants of the banks of the Severn and the Welsh frontiers. These three bodies united near Gloucester, and demanded of the king by message, that Count Eustace and his companions, with several other Normans and Boulonais who were then in England, should be given up to national justice. Edward gave no answer to these requests; but sent orders to the two great chiefs of the north and of the central counties, Siward and Leofric,² both Danes by birth, to march towards the south-west with all the forces they could muster. The men of Northumbria and the marches, who armed at the summons of the two chiefs, for the defence of the royal authority, did so with reluctance; and Siward and Leofric heard it repeated by their soldiers, that those would be deceived who should rely on their shedding the nation's blood for the foreign interest, and serving under Edward's name as instruments for the enemies of England.³

Leofric and Siward were sensible to these remonstrances. The national distinction between the Saxons and the Danes had become so faint, that the old enmity of the two races could not again be turned to the profit of the enemies of the people. The chiefs and warriors of the north positively refused to fight against the inhabitants of the south, and proposed an armistice between the king and Godwin, and that

¹ Licet illis odiosum videretur adversus eorum dominum genuinum. *Kyne Hlaforde*. Quicquam moliri. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 164.

² Or *Sig-ward*, *Lef-ric*. The Saxon and Danish proper names having been at this period more or less corrupted by use, will henceforward be given in that form (though sometimes incorrect) in which they appear in the chronicles of the time.

³ Suggerebant nonnulli quod id valde inconsultum erat. *Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye*. Ne ipsi cum suis compatriotis bellum inirent. *Rogerii de Hoved. Annales*, p. 441.

their difference should be debated before an assembly held in London. Edward was obliged to yield; Godwin, who did not desire war for its own sake, willingly consented; and, says the Saxon chronicle, the peace of God and a perfect friendship was sworn on both sides.¹ Such was the formula of the day; but, on one side at least, these premises wanted sincerity. The king profited by the time which remained to him before the meeting of the assembly, which was fixed for the autumnal equinox, to increase the strength of his troops; while Godwin retired towards the south-west; and his bands of volunteers, having neither pay nor quarters, returned to their families. The king, falsifying his word, though indirectly, issued during the interval his proclamation for the raising of an army both on the north and on the south of the Thames.²

This army (say the chronicles) was the most numerous that had been seen since the commencement of the new reign.³ Edward gave the command of it to his favourites from the other side of the channel; and among its principal chiefs figured a young son of his sister Goda and the Frenchman Gaultier de Mantes. The king cantoned his forces in and near London; so that the national council was opened in the midst of a camp, under the influence of terror and the royal seductions. Godwin and his two sons were summoned by this council, deliberating without any liberty, to relinquish the benefit of the oaths which had been sworn upon their hands by the few armed men whom they had remaining,⁴ and to appear without an escort and without arms. They answered that they were ready to obey the first of these orders; but that before they repaired to the assembly alone and without the means of defence, they required hostages to guarantee their personal safety in entering and coming away.⁵ They twice repeated this demand, which the military parade exhibited in London fully justified;⁶ and they were twice answered by a refusal and a summons to appear without delay and bring with them twelve witnesses to affirm their innocence on oath.

¹ Godes grith and fullne freondseipe. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 164.

² Bannan ut here. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 164. *Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

³ Omnium qui huc usque fuerint optimum. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 164.

⁴ Servitium militum suorum regi contraderent. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

⁵ Rogabant pacem et obsides quo securi consilium ingrederentur eoque egrederentur. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*

⁶ Non posse ad conventiculum factiosorum sine vadibus et obsidibus pergere. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

They did not come; and the great council declared them wilfully contumacious, granting them only five days to quit England with all their family.¹ Godwin, his wife Githa or Edith, and three of his sons, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gurth, repaired to the eastern coast, and embarked for Flanders. Harold and his brother Leofwin went into the west, to *Brigstow*, now Bristol, and passed the Irish Sea. Before the expiration of the term of five days, and in contempt of the decree of the council, the king sent an armed troop of horsemen in pursuit of them; but the captain of the troop, a Saxon by birth, neither overtook, nor had any desire to overtake them.²

The possessions of Godwin and his sons were seized and confiscated. His daughter and their sister, the king's wife, was stripped of all that she had in lands, furniture, and money. It was not fit, said the foreign courtiers ironically, that at the time when her family were suffering banishment, she herself should sleep on down.³ The weak Edward even went so far as to allow her to be imprisoned in a cloister with only one female attendant. The favourites pretended that, although she shared his bed, she was his wife only in name; and as he himself did not give the lie to this ridiculous assertion, the Normans and the priests raised for him, at very little cost, a reputation for sanctity.⁴ The days that followed were days of rejoicing and good-fortune for the foreign parasites. Normandy furnished to England more governors than ever; and the Normans gradually obtained the same supremacy which the Danes had formerly acquired by the sword. A monk of Jumièges, named Robert, became Archbishop of Canterbury; another Norman monk was Bishop of London; Saxon prelates and abbots were removed to make room for Frenchmen and pretended relations of King Edward, through his mother.⁵ The governments of Godwin and his sons fell to the share of men bearing foreign names. One Eudes became chief of the four counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and

¹ Five nihta grith. *Chron. Sax.*, p. 164.

² At illi non potuerunt aut noluerunt. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, Ed. Iye. *Chron. Gibson*, p. 164. *Rog. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

³ Ne scilicet omnibus suis parentibus patriam suspirantibus sola sterneret in pluma. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 82.

⁴ Nuptam rex hac arte tractabat, ut nec thoro emoveret nec virili more cognosceret. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 80.

⁵ Tunc Sparhafœus abbas fuit pulsus suo episcopatu. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 165.

Cornwall; and the son of Gaultier de Mantes, named Raulfe, had charge of the county of Hereford and the posts of defence established against the Welsh.¹

A new guest, and the most considerable of all, soon arrived from Normandy, to visit King Edward, and to proceed with a numerous retinue through the towns and castles of England.² This was William, Count or Duke of Normandy, and bastard son to Robert the late duke. Robert had him by a girl of Falaise, whom he had one day seen, on his return from the chase, washing linen in a brook with her companions. The duke was smitten with her beauty; and, wishing to have her for his mistress, sent (says a chronicler in verse³) one of his most discreet cavaliers to make proposals to the family. The father at first received such proposals with disdain; but, on reflection, he went and consulted one of his brothers, who was a hermit in the neighbouring forest, and a man of great reputation for religion;⁴ the religious man was of opinion that the will of the powerful man should be done in all things; the thing was granted (says the old poet), and the night and the hour agreed on.⁵ The young woman was called Arlete, a name corrupted in the Roman tongue from the ancient Danish name Her-leve.⁶ Duke Robert loved her much, and the child which he had by her was brought up with as much care as if he had been the son of a wife.⁷

Young William was only seven years of age when his father took it into his head to go in a pilgrim's habit to Jerusalem, for the remission of his sins. The Normans wished to detain him, representing to him that it would not be well for them to be left without a chief. "By my troth," answered Robert, "I will not leave you without a lord. I have a little bastard, who, if it please God, will grow bigger: choose him forthwith; and, before you all, I will possess him of this duchy as my successor."⁸ The Normans did what the duke proposed,

¹ *Rog. de Hoved.*, p. 442. *Will. Malm.*, pp. 80-82. *Th. Rudborne, in Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 291.

² Cum multo militum conventu ad civitates et castella circum duxit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 898.

³ Benelt or Benolt de Ste. Maure.

⁴ Ne fust un sien frère un saint hom, qu'il eust de grand religion. . . *Nouveaux Détails sur l'Histoire de Normandie*, pp. 430-438.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ In Latin, *Herleuva*. *Her*, eminent, eminently; *leve*, live, lif, lib, dear.

⁷ *Poem by Benoît de Ste. Maure. Rog. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

⁸ *Chron. de Normandie, Nouveaux Détails*, p. 100. *Recueil des Historiens de la France et des Gaules*, tom. xi. p. 400.

because (says the chronicle) they found it convenient;¹ they swore fealty to the child, and placed their hands in his.² But several chiefs, and in particular the relations of the former dukes, protested against this election, saying that a bastard was not worthy to command the sons of the Danes.³ The friends of the bastard made war upon them, and conquered them, with the assistance of the King of France. William, as he advanced in age, became more and more dear to his partisans. The day when he for the first time put on armour and mounted a war-horse, was a day of rejoicing in Normandy. He occupied himself with military concerns from his youth, and made war upon his neighbours of Brittany and Anjou. He was passionately fond of fine horses, especially those which bore proper names to distinguish their genealogy;⁴ and had them brought (say his cotemporaries) from Gascony, Auvergne, and Spain. The young son of Robert and Arlete was ambitious and vindictive to excess. He impoverished his father's family as much as possible, to enrich his relatives by the mother's side.⁵ He often punished in a sanguinary manner the raileries which the dishonour of his birth drew upon him. One day when he was attacking the town of Alençon, the besieged thought proper to shout to him from the walls, *La peau! la peau! à la peau!* at the same time beating some hides, in allusion to the trade of the citizen of Falaise who was William's grandfather. The bastard immediately had the feet and hands of all the prisoners he had taken cut off and thrown by his slingers into the town.⁶

As he journeyed through the land of the English, the Duke of Normandy might have believed for a moment that he was still in his own territories. The fleet which he found at Dover was commanded by Normans; and at Canterbury, some Norman soldiers composed the garrison of a fort built on the declivity of a hill.⁷ Crowds of Normans came to salute him in the dress of captains or prelates. Edward's favourites came

¹ *Chron. de Normandie, Nouveaux Détails*, p. 100. *Recueil des Historiens de la France et des Gaules*, tom. xi. p. 400.

² *Manibus illorum manibus ejus, vice cordis, datis. Dudo de Sto. Quintino Hist.*, p. 157.

³ *Guil. Gemeticensis*, p. 268.

⁴ *Qui nominibus propriis vulgo sunt nobilitati. Guillelm. Putaviensis*, p. 181.

⁵ *Chronique de Normandie, Nouveaux Détails*, p. 246.

⁶ *Nouveaux Détails sur l'Hist. de Norm.*, p. 246. *Dudo de Sto. Quintino*, p. 76, *inter Script. Franc.*, tom. xi.

⁷ *Castellum in Doroberniæ cliivo. Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 441.

to pay their respects to the chief of their native country; and, to use the language of that day, thronged round their natural lord. William appeared in England more like a king than Edward himself; and it was not long before his ambitious mind conceived the hope of becoming so without difficulty, at the death of this man whom he found a slave to Norman influence. Such thoughts could not fail to arise in the breast of the son of Robert: however, according to the testimony of a cotemporary, he kept them perfectly secret; and never spoke of them to Edward, believing that things would of themselves take the course most to the advantage of his ambition.¹ Nor did Edward, whether or not he thought of these projects and the opportunity of one day having his friend for a successor, converse with him on the subject during this visit; he only received him with great tenderness, gave him arms, horses, hounds, and falcons,² and loaded him with all sorts of presents and assurances of affection. Amid the recollections of the country where he had passed his youth, the king of the English suffered himself to forget his own nation; but that nation could not forget itself, and those who still retained their love for it, had soon an opportunity of commanding the king's attention.³

In the summer of the year 1052, Godwin sailed from Bruges with several vessels, and landed on the coast of Kent. He sent secret messengers to the Saxon garrison of the fort of Hastings, in the county of Sussex; and other emissaries distributed themselves over the country, in the south and in the north. At their solicitation, many of those who were capable of bearing arms bound themselves by oath to the cause of the exiled chief, promising with one voice (says an old historian) to live and die with him.⁴ The news of this movement reached the royal fleet, which was cruising in the Eastern sea, under the orders of the Normans Eudes and Raulfe. They pursued Godwin, who, finding himself unequal in force, gave way before them, and took shelter in the Pevensey roads, while the enemy's vessels were interrupted in their chase by a storm. He afterwards coasted along the eastern shore as far as the Isle of

¹ De successione autem regni, spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 898.

² *Roman de Rou, par Maistre Gace ou Wace.*

³ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 165.

⁴ Omnes uno ore, aut vivere aut mori se paratos esse promiserunt. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

Wight, where his two sons Harold and Leofwin, coming from Ireland, rejoined him with a small army.¹

The father and the sons together again began to correspond with the inhabitants of the southern counties. Wherever they landed, provisions were furnished to them, the people bound themselves by oath to their cause, and hostages were given them.² All the royal corps of soldiers, all the ships which they found in the ports, deserted to them.³ They sailed for Sandwich, where their disembarkation took place without any hindrance, notwithstanding Edward's proclamation, which ordered every inhabitant to prevent the passage of the rebellious chief. The king was then in London, and to that city he called all the warriors of the west and north. Few obeyed his call, and those who did obey it came tardily.⁴ Godwin's vessels were at liberty to ascend the Thames, and arrived in sight of London, near the suburb which was then, and is still called *Suthwerk*.⁵ When the tide was down, they cast anchor, and secret emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of London, who, following the example of the inhabitants of the ports, swore that they would do whatever was wished by the enemies of the foreign influence.⁶ The vessels passed under London Bridge without opposition, and landed a body of troops, which formed on the bank of the river.⁷

Before a single bow was drawn, the exiles⁸ sent a respectful message to King Edward, asking a revision of the sentence which had been executed against them. Edward at first refused; other messengers succeeded; and during these delays, it was with difficulty that Godwin could restrain the irritation of his friends.⁹ Edward, on the other hand, found those who still adhered to his cause but little disposed to fight against their fellow-countrymen.¹⁰ His foreign favourites, who

¹ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 165. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

² *Dati sunt eis victus et obsides quibuscumque in locis postularent. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 167.

³ *Huscarlos omnes quos obvios invenerunt secum legentes. Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

⁴ *At illi nimis tardantes ad tempus non venerunt. Ibid.*

⁵ *Sath-weorc. Roger. de Hoved.*

⁶ *Ut omnes fere quæ volebat omnino vellent, effecit. Ibid.* p. 442.

⁷ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 167.

⁸ *Elagati. (Tha Utлага.) Ibid.*

⁹ *Adeo ut ipse comes suos œgre sedaret. Chron. Sax.*, p. 167.

¹⁰ *Angli pugnare adversus propinquos et compatriotas pœne omnes abhorrebant. Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 442.

foresaw that union among the Saxons would be their ruin, urged the king to give the signal for battle; but, becoming wise through necessity, he no longer listened to the Normans, but gave his consent to whatever should be resolved on by the English chiefs on both sides, who accordingly assembled under the presidency of Stigand, Bishop of Est-anglia. They decided with one accord that the king should accept from Godwin and his sons the oath of peace, with hostages, offering them, on his part, equivalent guarantees.¹

On the first rumour of this reconciliation, the courtiers of Normandy and France² mounted their horses in great haste, and fled in different directions. Some reached a fortress in the West commanded by the Norman Osbert, surnamed Pentecôte. Others made all speed to a castle in the north, also commanded by a Norman. The Normans, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury and William Bishop of London, went out at the eastern gate, followed by the armed men of their own nation, who massacred some of the English in their flight.³ They repaired to the coast, and embarked in small fishing-boats. The archbishop, in his trouble and haste, left in England his most precious effects, and, among other things, the *pallium* which he had received from the Roman church as the ensign of his dignity.⁴

A great council of the wise men was convoked out of London, and, this time, assembled freely. All the chiefs and the best men of the country attended it, say the Saxon chronicles.⁵ Godwin spoke in his own defence, and justified himself from every accusation before the king and the people;⁶ his sons justified themselves in the same manner; their sentence of exile was reversed; and another sentence unanimously passed, which banished all the Normans from England, as enemies to the public peace, favourers of discord, and calumniators of the English to their king.⁷ The youngest of Godwin's sons, named Ulfnoth after his grandfather the

¹ Dereverunt ut sex obsidibus confirmaretur ex utraque parte. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 167.

² And tha Frencisce menn. *Ibid.* pp. 167, 168.

³ Egressi sunt orientali porta, occiderunt et alias confecerunt multos juvenes. *Chron. Sax.*, pp. 167, 168.

⁴ Vili navicula prope transfretavit, et reliquit pallium suum in hac terra. *Ibid.*

⁵ Tha bestan menn the wæron on thison lande. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 168.

⁶ Et coram universa gente (ealle land-leodan). *Ibid.*

⁷ Quod statum regni conturbarent, animum regis in provinciales agitantes. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 82.

herdsman of the West, was placed in Edward's hands together with one of the sons of Sweyn, as hostages for the peace mutually sworn. Borne away, even at this moment, by his fatal inclination to friendship with the men beyond the Channel, the king sent them both to the care of William Duke of Normandy. Godwin's daughter came out of her cloister, and returned to dwell in the palace. All the members of this popular family resumed their honours, excepting only Sweyn, who voluntarily renounced them. He had formerly committed a murder on the person of a Dane, his relative; and he thought his conscience would be set at rest by a journey bare-foot to Jerusalem. He rigorously accomplished this painful pilgrimage, but a speedy death was the consequence of it.¹

Stigand, the bishop who had presided at the assembly held for the great reconciliation, took the place of the Norman Robert as Archbishop of Canterbury; and while waiting to obtain from the Roman church the decoration of the *pallium* for himself, he officiated at the pontifical mass in the pallium which Robert had left at his departure. The Normans, Hugues and Osbert Pentecôte, gave up the keys of the castles which they held, and obtained safe conduct out of the kingdom;² but, at the request of the weak Edward, some infractions were made in the decree of banishment passed against every foreigner. Raulfe (the son of Gaultier de Mantes and of the king's sister), Robert, surnamed the Dragon, and his son-in-law Richard the son of Scrob; Oufroy, equerry of the palace, Oufroy, surnamed Jay-foot, and others, for whom the king had a particular friendship, and who had not been distinguished for their enmity against the popular cause, had the privilege of living in England and retaining their employments.³ Guillaume, Bishop of London, was, some time afterwards, recalled and reinstated in his episcopal see; and a Fleming named Herman remained Bishop of Wilton. Godwin opposed this toleration so contrary to the public will with all his might;⁴ but his voice did not prevail; for there were many whose policy it was to appear full of complaisance towards the king, perhaps with the view of succeeding the foreign courtiers in his favour.

¹ *Chronic. Saxon.*, p. 168. *Will. Malmes.*, p. 82. *Script. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 174. *Roger. de Hoveden*, p. 442. *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 4.

² *Reddiderunt sua castella. Rog. de Hoved.*, p. 443.

³ *Oufridum cognomento Ceokesfoot (al. Ceousfoot) . . . et quosdam alios quos plus cæteris rex dilexerat, eique et omni populo fideles exstiterant. Rog. de Hoved.*, p. 443.

⁴ Godwinus comes obstiterat. *Ranulphus Higden.*, p. 281.

Subsequent events proved whether these men of the court or the austere Godwin advocated the soundest policy.¹

It is difficult at this day to ascertain the degree of Edward's sincerity in his return to the national interest and his reconciliation with the family of Godwin. When surrounded by the countrymen of his ancestors, perhaps he thought himself imprisoned; perhaps he believed himself to be a slave when obeying the wishes of the people who had chosen him for their king when they were free to choose another.² His ulterior relations with the Duke of Normandy, and his private conversations with the Normans whom he kept about him, form the secret part of this history. All that the chronicles of the time say of it is, that an apparent friendship existed between the king and his father-in-law, and at the same time the name of Godwin was loudly cursed in Normandy. All the Normans whom his return had driven from their posts of profit and honour, all those to whom the easy and brilliant career of the courtier was now closed, united in calling Godwin a traitor, an enemy to his king, and the murderer of young Alfred.³

This last charge was the most credited, and pursued the Saxon patriot to the hour of his death. One day, when seated at Edward's table, he suddenly fainted away; and this accident was the foundation of a romantic and very doubtful story, although it is repeated by several historians. They relate that one of the attendants, while filling a goblet, made a false step and stumbled, but saved himself from falling by the help of his other leg. "Ah!" said Godwin, laughing, to the king, "the brother came to help his brother." "No doubt," returned Edward, casting a significant glance at the Saxon, "the brother has need of his brother; and would to God that mine were still living!" "O king!" exclaimed Godwin, "wherefore is it that the least remembrance of thy brother makes thee look with an evil eye on me? If I contributed, even indirectly, to his misfortune, may the God of heaven cause this mouthful of bread to choke me."⁴ Godwin put the bread into his mouth, say the writers who relate this adventure,

¹ *Rog. de Hoved.*, pp. 442, 443. *Gervasius Cantuariensis*, p. 1651. *Ranulph. Higdeni Polychronicon*, p. 281.

² *Gegas to cynge. Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*

³ *Will. Malmesb.*, pp. 80, 81. More correctly, *Ælfred*, or *Elfred*. See Book II. p. 68.

⁴ *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 360. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 81.

and was immediately suffocated. The truth is, that his death was not so sudden; but that, having fallen from his seat, he was carried out of the apartment by two of his sons, Tostig and Gurth, and expired five days after.¹ The accounts of all these events generally vary, as the writer happens to have been of Norman or of English birth. "I constantly see before me," says an historian who lived within a century afterwards, "two roads—two opposite versions; and I wish my readers to be forewarned of the danger to which I am myself exposed."²

A short time after the death of Godwin, died Siward, the chief of Northumbria, who had first embraced the royal party against Godwin, and afterwards voted for peace and the expulsion of the foreigners. He was a Dane by birth, and the population of the same origin which he commanded had sur-named him *the Strong*:³ there was shown for a long time after a rock of granite which he had cloven with one stroke of an axe.⁴ Being attacked by dysentery, and feeling his end approach, he said to those about him, "Lift me up, that I may die standing, and not lying down like a cow. Put on my coat of mail; cover my head with my helmet; put my buckler on my left arm, and my gilded axe in my right hand, that I may expire in arms."⁵ Siward left a son called Waltheof, who was too young to succeed him in the government of Northumbria; and this post was given to Tostig the third son of Godwin. Harold, the eldest, succeeded his father in the command of all the country south of the Thames; and placed the administration of the eastern territories, which he had governed until then, in the hands of Alfgar son of Leofric.⁶

Harold now stood first among the brave and powerful men of England. He compelled the Welsh, who, encouraged by the bad defence of the Frenchman Raulfe and his foreign soldiers cantoned at Hereford,⁷ made about this time several irruptions into England, to retire within their ancient limits. Raulfe showed but little vigilance for the preservation of a country which was not his own, and if, by virtue of his authority

¹ Quinta post hac feria vita decessit. *Rog. de Hoved. Hist.*, p. 443.

² Periclitatur oratio . . . lectorem præmonitum velim quod hac quasi ancipitem viam narrationis video, quia veritas factorum pendet in dubio. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 80.

³ Sig-vard Digr. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 302.

⁴ *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 302.

⁵ *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 366. *Ranulph. Higden. Polychron.*, p. 281.

⁶ *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 443. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 898.

⁷ See p. 124.

as chief, he called the Saxons to arms, it was to train them, against their own inclinations, to the tactics of the continent, and make them fight on horseback, contrary to their national custom.¹ The English, encumbered with their accoutrements and deserted by their general, who fled at the first approach of danger, offered no resistance to the Welsh, so that they invaded the environs of Hereford, and plundered the town itself.² Harold then came from the south of England; drove the Cambrians beyond their frontiers; and compelled them to swear that they would never again pass them, and to accept as a law, that every man of their nation taken in arms on the eastern side of Offa's entrenchment, should have his right hand cut off. It appears that the Saxons raised a parallel entrenchment on their own side; and that the interval between the two became a sort of free territory for the traders of both nations. Antiquaries think that they can still discern traces of this double line of defence, and, upon the heights on each side, some remains of ancient fortified posts established by the Britons on the west, and the English on the east.³

While Harold was thus adding to his renown and popularity among the Anglo-Saxons of the south, his brother Tostig was far from gaining the love of the Anglo-Danes of the north. Tostig, though a Dane by the mother's side, yet, either through the instinct of personal despotism, or through a false national pride, treated those under him rather as subjects than as citizens voluntarily united, and made them feel the yoke of a conqueror rather than the authority of a chief. He violated their hereditary customs at pleasure, levied enormous tributes, and put to death without a legal sentence those who gave him umbrage.⁴ After several years of oppression, the patience of the Northumbrians was exhausted; and a troop of insurgents, led by two men of great note in the country, suddenly presented themselves at the gates of York: the chief escaped by flight; but a great number of his officers and ministers, of Saxon as well as of Danish origin, were put to death.

The insurgents seized the arms and treasures of the despot; then, assembling a national council, they publicly declared

¹ *Anglos contra morem in equos pugnare jussit. Rog. de Hoved., p. 444.*

² *Sed cum prælium essent commissuri, comes cum suis Francis et Normannis primus fugam cepisset. Rog. de Hoved., p. 444.*

³ *Wat's Dike. Pennant's Tour in Wales. Rog. de Hoved., p. 444.*

⁴ *Sub pacis fœdere per insidias occidi præcepit . . . pro immunitate tributum quod de tota Northumbria injuste acceperat. Roger. de Hoved., p. 446.*

him to be deprived of his power and outlawed.¹ They chose as his successor Morkar, one of the sons² of that Alfgar who, on the death of his father Leofric, had become chief of all Mercia. The son of Alfgar repaired to York, took the command of the Northumbrian army, and drove Tostig towards the south. The army advanced through the Mercian territory as far as Northampton, and was joined by many of the inhabitants of the country. Edwin, the brother of Morkar, who had a command on the frontiers of Wales, armed in his brother's cause some troops of his province, as also a body of Cambrians, who were engaged by the promise of pay, and perhaps partly by the desire of gratifying their national hatred by fighting against Saxons, though under a Saxon banner.²

On receiving intelligence of this great movement, Edward ordered Harold to march with the warriors of the south and east to meet the insurgents. Family pride, wounded in the person of a brother, seemed to combine with the natural aversion of men in power to every energetic act of popular independence, to make Harold an implacable enemy to the people who had driven away Tostig, and the chief whom that people had elected. But the son of Godwin proved himself superior to these vulgar passions; and before drawing his sword against his fellow-countrymen, proposed to the Northumbrians a conference to treat for peace. They stated their grievances, and the motives of their insurrection: Harold strove to exculpate his brother, and promised in his name a better conduct for the future, if the people would receive him again; but the men of Northumbria protested with one voice against any reconciliation with him who had been their tyrant.³ "We were born free," said they, "and brought up in freedom; a haughty chief is a thing insupportable to us, for we have learned from our ancestors to live freemen or to die."⁴ They charged Harold himself to carry their answer to the king. Harold, preferring justice and the tranquillity of the country to the interest of his own brother,⁵ repaired to Edward; and when he returned, he himself swore to the Northumbrians the peace which the king granted them and which legalised the

¹ Exlegaverunt. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 446.

² Multi item Britones (Bryttas) cum eo venerunt. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 171. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 446.

³ Omnes unanimi consensu contradixerunt. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 446.

⁴ Se homines libere natos, libere educatos, nullius ducis ferociam pati posse, a majoribus didicisse aut libertatem aut mortem. *Will. Malmes.*, p. 83.

⁵ Qui magis quietem patriæ quam fratris commodum attenderet. *Ibid.*

expulsion of Tostig and the election of Alfgar's son.¹ Tostig, dissatisfied with King Edward, with his countrymen who had abandoned him, and especially with his brother, whom he thought bound to defend his cause, whether just or unjust, left England with hatred in his breast, and repaired to the Count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married.

From the period of England's deliverance from the Danish dominion, the law of Knut for raising an annual tribute to St. Peter and the Roman church, had shared the fate of all the other laws decreed by the foreigner.² The public administration compelled no one to observe it, and Rome now received from England only the offerings and voluntary gifts of individual devotion. The ancient friendship of the Roman priests for this people, too, declined rapidly. Conversations to the prejudice of them and their chief were held in mystic style in the halls of St. John of Lateran.³ The English bishops were accused of *simony*,⁴ that is, of paying money for their sees, a very singular reproach in the mouths of the Romans, who were accustomed to sell everything.⁵ Eldred, Archbishop of York, received the first marks of enmity from this senate clothed in purple, who, like the sons of Mars, passed judgment on the chiefs of all nations. He came to the Eternal City to solicit the pallium, the indispensable ensign of high Catholic prelacy, as the purple robes transmitted by the Cæsars to the royal vassals of ancient Rome were the sign of sovereignty. The Roman priests refused the archiepiscopal mantle to Eldred; but a Saxon chief who accompanied him threatened to retaliate by procuring the entire prohibition of the sending of money to the Holy City:⁶ the Romans yielded; but resentment for this constraint and the desire of revenge took possession of their hearts.

The Norman, Robert de Jumièges, expelled by the English people from the archbishopric of Canterbury, went to Rome after the banishment of the foreigners, to complain that a sacred character had been violated in his person, and to denounce as a usurper and an intruder Stigand the Saxon, whom the popular voice had appointed to fill his place. The Roman pontiff and his cardinal priests received these com-

¹ Id eis narravit et manu data confirmavit. *Chron Sax.*, p. 171.

² See Book II, p. 103.

³ Membra mali capitis. *Epistola Hildebrandi*.

⁴ *Vitæ Pontificum*.—*Will. Malmesb.*, lib. iii. p. 100.

⁵ Ubi venalitas multum operatur. *Ran. Higden.*, p. 280.

⁶ *Willelm. Malmesb.*—*Vitæ Pontificum*, lib. iii. p. 100.

plaints with eagerness; they made it a capital crime in the Saxon prelate to have invested himself with the pallium which Robert had left behind him in his flight;¹ and the complainant returned into Normandy with papal letters which declared him to be lawful Archbishop of Canterbury against the will of the people.²

Stigand, the choice of the people, feeling the danger of not being recognised at Rome, negotiated during this interval, and requested the pallium from the reigning pope; but, by a chance which it was impossible to foresee, this request itself gave rise to other perplexing embarrassments. At the moment when it reached the pontifical court, the papacy was in the hands of a man elected by the Roman citizens against the wish of the king of the Germans, who, by virtue of his title of *Cæsar*, which a former pontiff had conferred on the Frank Karl,³ pretended that no sovereign pontiff could be created without his consent. This pope was Benedict, the tenth of the name, who, being more disposed than his predecessor to respect those national rights which the foreigner attacked in his own person, did not refuse the pallium to the Saxon Stigand; but soon afterwards, an army of Germans, bringing in their train a pope chosen by themselves, came to expel Benedict from Rome, and enthrone his rival, who, without any scruple, arrayed himself in the pontifical decorations left by the vanquished pope, degraded him, excommunicated him, and annulled all his acts. Stigand, therefore, found himself once more without the pallium, charged before the papal power with usurpation, and with a fresh and much more serious crime, in having solicited and received the pallium from a false and excommunicated pope.⁴ The journey from Canterbury to Rome was, in those times, a painful one; Stigand was not eager to go and justify himself before the fortunate rival of Benedict X.; and the old leaven of hatred against the English people fermented more strongly than ever.⁵

Another incident gave to the Romans an opportunity of

¹ See p. 128.

² Cum apostolicis litteris rediens. *Ranulphi Higden.*, p. 280. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 82.

³ See Book II. p. 88.

⁴ Stigandus accepit pallium a Benedicto anti-papa. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 791.

⁵ *Dr. Potter—Spirit of the Church*, vol. v. pp. 312 and 314. *Ingulf. Croyland*, p. 898.

associating their hatred with the desire of revenge excited in many of the Normans by the pretended treachery of Godwin, and with the ambitious projects of Duke William. Lanfranc, a monk of Normandy, of Lombard origin, and famous in the Christian world for his writings, at first suspected of heresy and afterwards devoted to the defence of the Catholic dogmas, incurred William's displeasure by blaming the marriage of the Norman duke with Mathilde, daughter to Baudvin, Count of Flanders, and his kinswoman in a degree forbidden by the Church. Driven from the presence of the Norman, of whom he had been the intimate adviser, the Lombard repaired to Pope Nicholas at Rome, who refused to recognise and sanction the union of the married pair. Like an able courtier to both the rival powers, Lanfranc, far from complaining of William, respectfully pleaded with the pontiff the cause of the marriage, which he would not take upon himself to approve.¹ By his entreaties and his address, he obtained a formal dispensation—a signal service, for which his patron received him into greater intimacy than before. He became the soul of his councils, and his plenipotentiary to Rome. The respective pretensions of the Roman priests and of the Norman, with regard to England, were, it should appear, from that time, the subject of serious negotiations. An armed invasion was, perhaps, not yet thought of; but William's relationship to Edward seemed one great mean of success, and at the same time an incontestable title in the eyes of the Roman priests, who favoured, throughout Europe, the maxims of hereditary royalty in opposition to the practice of election.²

The usages of the Anglo-Saxons were, on this point, contrary to the Roman maxims. They would take a bastard son for their king, when there were legitimate ones; a brother, when there were sons; and did not accept the eldest son himself, until they had compared his merits with those of the other candidates.³ But what were the laws and customs of foreign nations to the Cisalpines? They were ignorant of and despised those laws. Whatever they themselves deemed conformable to their interests, whatever they had traditionally retained of the customs of the old empire, or learned from the Hebrew history, was in their opinion the supreme law for

¹ Ut ageret pro duce Normannorum et conjuge ejus. *Mabillon—Annales Benedictini.*

² *Mabillon—Annales Benedictini*, tom. iv. p. 58.

³ See Book II. p. 76.

every people of every race and language—the universal and sacred law which every man ought to acknowledge, on pain of excommunication and war, on pain of death in this world and in the next.

The internal peace of England had continued undisturbed for two years. The aged Edward's animosity against the sons of Godwin was disappearing for want of nourishment and through the habit of living amongst them. Harold, the new chief of that popular family, fully paid to the king that respectful and submissive deference of which he was so jealous. Some ancient accounts say that Edward loved him and treated him as his own son;¹ but at least he did not feel towards him the kind of aversion mixed with fear with which Godwin had inspired him; nor had he any longer a pretext for detaining as guarantees against the son the hostages which he had received from the father. It will be remembered that these hostages had been confided by the suspicious Edward to the care of the Duke of Normandy. For more than ten years, they had been in a sort of captivity, far from their country. Towards the close of the year 1065, Harold, their brother and uncle, thinking the moment favourable for obtaining their deliverance, asked the king's permission to go and claim them in his name and bring them out of exile. Edward, without evincing any reluctance to part with the hostages, was alarmed at Harold's intention of going himself into Normandy. "I will not restrain thee," said he; "but if thou depart, it will be without my wish; for thy journey will certainly bring some misfortune upon thyself and upon our country. I know Duke William, and his crafty spirit. He hates thee, and will grant thee nothing, unless he derive a great profit from it. The way to make him give up the hostages would be to send some other person than thyself."²

The Saxon, brave and full of confidence, did not act upon this advice; but set out, as if on a journey of pleasure, with his bird on his hand and his dogs running before him.³ He embarked at one of the ports of Sussex. His two vessels were carried out of their course by contrary winds, and driven towards the mouth of the Somme, to that part of the coast which belonged to Guy, Count of Ponthieu. It was the

¹ Et eum loco filii habuit. *Snorre*, tom. iii. p. 143.

² *Chronique de Normandie—Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 223. *Wace, Roman de Rou—Ibid. Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 4.

³ *Tapisserie de Bayeux.*

custom of this maritime country, as of many others in the middle ages, that every stranger thrown upon the coast by a storm, instead of being humanely assisted, should be imprisoned and have a ransom set upon him. Harold and his companions were dealt with according to this law; after being stripped of the best part of their baggage, they were shut up by the lord of the place in his fortress of Belram, now Beaurain, near Montreuil.¹

To escape a long and wearisome captivity, the Saxon declared himself to be the bearer of a message from the King of England to the Duke of Normandy, and sent to William to request that he would release him from prison, in order that he might wait upon him. William did not hesitate to demand from his neighbour of Ponthieu the liberty of the captive, at first simply with threats, and without saying anything of ransom. The Count of Ponthieu was deaf to menaces, and yielded only to the offer of a large sum of money and a fine tract of land on the river Eanore.² Harold repaired to Rouen; and the bastard of Normandy had then the supreme satisfaction of having near him and in his power the son of the great enemy of the Normans, one of the chiefs of that national league which had caused the banishment from England of the foreign courtiers, the friends and relatives of William, the supporters of his hopes, and the favourers of his pretensions to the sovereignty of the English.³ William received the Saxon chief with great honours and an appearance of frankness and cordiality: he told him that the two hostages were free at his request, and he might return with them immediately; but that, as a courteous guest, he ought not to be in such haste, but to stay at least for a few days, to see the towns and the amusements of the country. Harold went from town to town, and from castle to castle; and took part, with his young companions, in the military jousts. Duke William made them knights, that is, members of the high Norman military order, a sort of warlike fraternity, into which every man of wealth who devoted himself to arms might be introduced under the auspices of some old member, who, with due ceremony,

¹ *Chron. de Normandie—Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. *Eadmeri Histor. Novorum*, p. 5. *Aluredus Beverlacensis*, p. 125.

² *Chronique de Normandie—Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii.

³ *Fuerunt enim ante inimici ad invicem. Mathæus Parisiensis*, tom. i. p. 1. *Henrici Hunting.*, p. 367.

presented to him a sword, a baldrick plated with silver, and a lance decorated with a streamer. The Saxon warriors received from their sponsor in chivalry, presents of fine arms and horses of great value.¹ William then proposed that they should try their new spurs by following him in an expedition which he was undertaking against his neighbours of Brittany.

The son of Godwin and his friends, foolishly eager to acquire a renown for courage among the men of Normandy, displayed for their host, at the expense of the Britons, a prowess which was one day to cost them and their country very dear. During the whole war, Harold and William had but one tent and one table.¹ On their return, they rode side by side, amusing each other on the way with pleasant stories.³ One day, William turned the conversation upon his early intimacy with King Edward. "When Edward and I," said he to the Saxon, "lived like brothers under the same roof, he promised that if ever he became King of England, he would make me heir to his kingdom. Harold, I wish that thou wouldst assist me to realise this promise; and be sure that if, by thy aid, I obtain the kingdom, whatever thou shalt ask, I will grant it thee."⁴ Harold, though surprised at this unexpected excess of confidence, could not refrain from answering by some vague promises of coalition; and William resumed in these terms: "Since thou consentest to serve me, thou must engage to fortify the castle of Dover, to sink in it a well of fresh water, and to give it up to my troops; thou must also give me thy sister, that I may marry her to one of my chiefs; and thou thyself must marry my daughter Adela: moreover, I wish thee, at thy departure, to leave me one of the hostages which thou claimest, as a surety for the fulfilment of thy promise; he shall remain in my keeping; and I will restore him to thee in England, when I shall arrive there as king."⁵ On hearing these words, Harold perceived all his danger, and that into which he had unconsciously drawn his two young relatives. To escape from his embarrassment, he complied in words with all the Norman's demands;⁶ and he who had

¹ Armes et draps lui fit bailler. *Wace, Roman de Rou.* Armis militaribus et equis delectissimis. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 191. *Tapisserie de Bayeux.*

² Hospitem quasi contubernalem habens. *Guill. Pict.*, p. 191.

³ Tales togeder thei told, ilk on a good palfray. *Robert Brûne's Chronicle*, p. 68.

⁴ *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 5. *Chronique de Normandie.* *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 191.

⁵ *Chron. de Normandie.* *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 5.

⁶ Sensit Haroldus periculum, nec intellixit quo evaderet. *Ibid.*

twice taken up arms to drive away the foreigners from his country, promised to deliver up to a foreigner the principal fortress in that same country. He reserved to himself to break this unworthy engagement at a future day, thinking to purchase his safety and repose with a falsehood. William pressed him no further at that moment; but he did not long leave the Saxon at peace on this point.

In the town of Avranches, or in that of Bayeux, for the testimonies vary with regard to the place, the Norman duke convoked a great council of the chiefs and rich men of Normandy—of all those superior persons who were called *bers* or *barons*, in the same manner as the great men of the Frank country.¹ The day before that fixed for the assembly, William had brought from all the places round, bones and relics of saints, sufficient to fill a great chest or cask, which was placed in the hall of council and covered with cloth of gold.² When the duke had taken his seat in the chair of state, holding a rich sword in his hand, crowned with a golden wreath, and surrounded by the crowd of Norman chiefs, amongst whom was the Saxon, a missal was brought, opened at the Gospel, and laid upon the cask of relics. William then said, “Harold, I require thee before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promises which thou hast made me—viz. to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England after King Edward’s death, to marry my daughter Adela, and to send me thy sister, that I may give her to one of my followers.”³ The Englishman, once more taken by surprise, and not daring to deny his own words, approached the missal with a troubled air, laid his hand upon it, and swore to execute to the utmost of his power his agreement with the duke, if he lived, and with God’s help. The whole assembly repeated, *May God be thy help!*⁴ William immediately made a sign, on which the cloth was removed, and discovered the bones and skeletons which filled the cask to the brim, and which the son of Godwin had sworn upon without knowing it. The Norman historians say that he shuddered at

¹ See Book II. p. 90.

²

Tout une cuve en fist emplir
Puis la fist d’une paille couvrir
Que Herart ne sout ne ne vist;

*Wace, Roman de Rou. Mémoires de l’Académie
des Inscriptions, tom. viii.*

³ *Wace. Eadmerus, p. 5. Guill. Pictav., p. 191.*

⁴ Plusours dient, que Diex li dont. *Wace, Roman de Rou.*

the sight of this enormous heap.¹ Harold soon after departed, taking with him his nephew, but compelled to leave his young brother behind him in the hands of the Norman. William accompanied him to the sea-side ; and made him fresh presents, rejoicing that he had, by fraud and surprise, obtained from the man in all England most capable of frustrating his projects a public and solemn oath to serve and assist him.²

When Harold, at his return, presented himself before King Edward, and related all that had passed between Duke William and himself, the king became pensive, and said to him, " Did I not forewarn thee that I knew this William, and that thy journey would bring calamity on thyself and on our nation? Heaven grant that these misfortunes may not happen during my life!"³ These words and this sadness seemed to prove that Edward had really, in his youthful and thoughtless days, made a foolish promise to the foreigner of a dignity which belonged only to the English people, who alone had the right of giving and transferring it. It is not known whether after his accession he had nourished the ambitious hopes of William by words ; but in default of express words, his constant friendship for the Norman had, with the latter, been equivalent to a positive assurance, and a sufficient reason for believing that Edward continued favourable to his views, and was an accomplice in his ambition.

Whatever secret negotiations had taken place between the Duke of Normandy and the Roman church, they were able from that moment to have a more fixed basis and a more determinate direction. An oath sworn upon relics, however absurd the oath might be, called down the vengeance of the Church, if violated ; and in that case, according to the vulgar opinion of the age, the Church struck lawfully. Either from a secret feeling of the dangers with which this ecclesiastical vengeance associated with the vengeance and ambition of the Normans seemed to threaten England, or from a vague impression of superstitious terror, a great dejection of mind overcame the English nation. Sinister reports were circulated ; men feared and were alarmed, without any positive cause for alarm. They raked up old predictions, attributed to saints of former times. One of them had prophesied misfortunes such

¹ *Wace, Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. viii.

² *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 192. *Eadm. Hist.*, p. 5.

³ *Nonne dixi tibi me nosse Willelmum?* *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 5. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 449. *Aluredus Beverlacensis*, p. 126.

as the Saxon had never suffered since they left the banks of the Elbe.¹ Another had foretold an invasion by a people of an unknown tongue, and the subjection of the English people to masters from beyond the sea.² All these visions, which either had remained until then without credit, or were forged at the moment, were eagerly received, and kept the minds of the people in expectation of some unavoidable calamity.

The life of Edward, who was naturally of a weak constitution, and had, it should appear, become more sensible to his country's destiny, declined from the period of these events. He could not disguise to himself that his love for the foreigners was the sole cause of the dangers which seemed to threaten England; and his gloom was greater than that of the people. In order to stifle these thoughts, and perhaps the remorse which preyed upon his mind, he gave himself wholly up to the details of religious observances; he made large donations to the churches and monasteries; and his last hour surprised him in the midst of these mournful and unprofitable occupations. On his death-bed, he discoursed incessantly on his gloomy presentiments; he had frightful visions; and in his melancholy ecstasies, the menacing passages of the Bible recurred involuntarily and confusedly to his memory. "The Lord hath bent His bow," he would exclaim, "the Lord hath prepared His sword; He waveth and brandisheth it like a warrior. He will manifest His wrath by fire and sword."³ These words struck terror into those who surrounded the king's death-bed;⁴ but the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, could not refrain from smiling at and ridiculing those who trembled at the dreams of a sick old man.⁵

Weak as was the mind of the aged Edward, he had the courage to declare before he died, to the chiefs who consulted

¹ Venientes super Anglorum gentem mala qualianon passa sunt ex quo venit in Angliam usque ad tempus illud. *Joan. Fordun. Historia, in Collect. XXX. Scriptor. Gale.* tom. ii. p. 681.

² Imperatum eis a Francia adventurum dominorum, quod et eorum excellentiam deprimeret in perpetuum, et honorem sine termino restitutionis eventilaret. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 359. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 909. Dira et diuturna ab exteris gentibus. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 118.

³ Et ecce Dominus arcum suum tetendit, gladium suum vibravit et paravit . . . igne simul et gladio puniendi. *Ethelredus Rievallensis*, p. 359.

⁴ Ther was deol and sorwe ynou. *Robert of Gloster's Chronicle*, p. 350. Cæteris timentibus. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 93.

⁵ Prophetanti delirare submurmurans, ridere maluit. *Ethelred. Rievall.*, p. 359. Vetulum accedente morbo nugas delirare. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 93.

him on the choice of a successor, that in his opinion the man most worthy to reign was, Harold the son of Godwin.¹ In pronouncing the name of Harold in these circumstances, the king showed himself superior to his habitual prejudices, superior even to the ambition of advancing the fortunes of his family; for there was then in England a grandson of Edmund Ironside, born in Hungary, where his father had taken refuge at the time of the Danish proscriptions. This young man, named Edgar, had neither natural talent nor acquired glory; he had passed the whole of his childhood in a foreign country, and could hardly speak the Saxon language.² Such a candidate could not struggle for popularity with Harold, the brave, the rich, the destroyer of the foreign power.³ Harold was the man most capable of belying the oath which he had himself sworn to the foreigner, against his will; and even if he had not been pointed out for the choice of the other chiefs by the dying king, his name must have been in every mouth. He was elected the next day after the ceremony of Edward's funeral, and anointed by the same archbishop Stigand who was disowned by the Roman church.⁴ The new king was presented, together with the crown of gold and the gilded sceptre, with a large battle-axe, the ancient symbol of the Saxon country.⁵ The grandson of the herdsman Ulfnoth showed himself, from the time of his accession, just, wise, affable, and active for the good of his country, sparing no fatigue (says an old historian) on land or sea.⁶

Harold abolished the last traces of the rule of the Norman favourites. The ancient Saxon signature replaced in his charters the pendant seals in the Norman mode, which were in use during the whole of Edward's reign.⁷ The new king did not, however, drive from the kingdom, nor from their

¹ *Gervasius Tilburiensis*, p. 741. *Eadmer.*, p. 5. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 449. *Historia Eliensis*, p. 505. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 633. *Simeo Dunelmensis*, p. 194.

² *Historia Danicæ Isaaci Pontani*, p. 184. *John Speede's Chronicle*, p. 417.

³ *Erat viribus corporis animique audacia et linguæ facundia, multisque probitatibus admirabilis. Orderic. Vitalis, inter Script. Rer. Normannic.*, p. 492. *Moribus ingenuum, militia singularem. Gervasius Tilburiensis*, p. 745.

⁴ *Tapiserie de Bayeux. Guill. Pictav. Orderic. Vitalis.*

⁵ *Ibid.* And Harold eorl feng to them rice, swa se cing hit him genthe, and ear men hin thær to gecuron. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 172.

⁶ *Pium, humilem, affabilem se exhibens . . . pro patriæ defensione ipsemet terra marique desudare. Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 447. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ducarel's Norman Antiquities*, tom. iv.

offices, those Normans who had been spared, in opposition to the law, through a sort of condescension towards Edward's old affections.¹ These foreigners continued in the enjoyment of every civil right; but, instead of being grateful to the people and the chief who left them in this enjoyment, they employed themselves in intriguing at home and abroad for the foreign pretender. From them it was that Duke William received the message announcing Edward's death and the election of Godwin's son. At the moment when William received this important intelligence, he was in his park near Rouen, with a new bow and arrows in his hand, which he was trying.² On a sudden, he appeared thoughtful; he gave his bow to one of his men, and passing the Seine, repaired to his hotel at Rouen. He stopped in the great hall, and walked backwards and forwards, sitting down and rising up again, changing his seat and his posture, and unable to remain still in any place. None of his people dared to approach him; all stood apart, looking at one another in silence.³ At length an officer came in, who was admitted more intimately into William's familiarity. All the attendants pressed round him to learn the cause of the great agitation which they remarked in the duke. "I know nothing certain about it," answered the officer, "but we shall soon be informed of it." Then, advancing alone towards William, "Sire," said he, "why should you conceal from us your news? what will you gain by it? It is commonly reported in the city that the King of England is dead, and that Harold, breaking his faith with you, has seized the kingdom." "They say true," answered the duke; "my chagrin is caused by Edward's death and the wrong done me by Harold." "Well, Sire," replied the courtier, "do not be angry about a thing which can be amended: for Edward's death there is no remedy; but for Harold's wrong there is. Yours is the good right; yours are the good soldiers. Undertake boldly; that which is boldly undertaken is half accomplished."⁴

One of the Saxon race, Harold's own brother, that Tostig whom the Northumbrians had stripped of his command, and whom Harold, now that he had become king, would not impose on them afresh, came from Flanders to exhort William not to suffer the peaceful reign of what he called his perjury.⁵

¹ See p. 129.

² *Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Chron. de Normandie, Hist. de la France et des Gaules*, tom. xiii. p. 225.

⁵ *Ne perjurum suum regnare sineret. Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 493.

Tostig boasted among the foreigners of having more influence and power in England than his brother; and promised beforehand the certain possession of the country to whosoever would unite with him for the conquest of it.¹ William, too prudent to engage in so important an enterprise merely on the word of an adventurer, gave the Saxon some vessels wherewith to try his strength, but with which, instead of landing in England, Tostig repaired towards the Baltic, to ask other aid, and to arouse against his country the ambition of the kings of the north. He had an interview with Swen, king of the Danes, his relative by the mother's side, and asked his assistance against his brother and his nation; but the Dane answered this request by a refusal, harshly expressed. Tostig retired in discontent, and went to seek elsewhere for some king, whose sense of justice was less delicate.² He found in Norway Her-ald or Harold, son of Sigurd, the last Scandinavian chief who had led the adventurous life of the ancient sea-kings, and visited as a pirate the southern countries inhabited by the rich nations. His ships had passed the straits of Gibraltar and cruised in the seas of Sicily. He had carried off from Constantinople a young girl of the imperial blood.³ He was a poet like most of the northern corsairs, who, in long passages, or when their course was delayed by a calm, amused themselves with singing in verse their successes or their hopes. After his long voyages, in which, as he himself said, he had gone afar with his ship, a black vessel filled with warriors,⁴ the dread of men on land, Harold became by election king of one half of the Norwegian territories. To gain this man over to his projects, Tostig accosted him in flattering terms: "The whole world knows," said he to him, "that there is not in all the north a warrior equal to thee; thou hast only to will it, and England is thine."⁵ The Norwegian suffered himself to be convinced; and promised to put to sea with his great fleet, as soon as the annual melting of the ice should have unbound the ocean.⁶

While waiting the departure of his ally from Norway, Tostig

¹ *Snorre Sturleson*, tom. iii. p. 147.

² *Torfaeus, Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. pp. 347-349.

³ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 79.

⁴ *Bartholinus*, p. 79. *Adamus Bremensis*.

⁵ *Non esse bellatorem tibi parem. Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii.

p. 149.

⁶ *Ut primum glaciem verna tempestas dissolvit. Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 149.

went to try his fortune on the northern coasts of England, with a band of adventurers assembled in Friesland, Holland, and Flanders. He plundered and laid waste some villages; but the two great chiefs of the countries bordering on the Humber, Morkar and Edwin, sons of Alfgar, united, and pursuing his vessels, forced him to seek a retreat on the shores of Scotland.¹ Meanwhile Harold, the son of Godwin, remaining quiet in the southern part of England, had a messenger sent to him from Normandy, who addressed him in these words: "William, Duke of Normandy, sends to remind thee of the oath which thou hast sworn to him with thy mouth and with thy hand, upon good and holy relics."² "It is true," replied the Saxon king, "that I took an oath to William; but I took it under constraint. I promised what did not belong to me—what I could not in any way hold; my royalty is not my own; I could not lay it down against the will of the country; nor can I, against the will of the country, take a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has died within the year: would he have me send her corpse?"³ The Norman ambassador carried this answer; and William replied by a second message with reproaches, expressed in mild and moderate terms, for the violation of the compact concluded between Harold and himself,⁴ entreating the king, if he did not consent to fulfil all the conditions, at least to perform one of them, and take in marriage the young woman whom he had promised to make his wife. Harold answered, that he would fulfil none of them; and as a proof, he married a Saxon woman, the sister of Edwin and Morkar. Hostility was then finally declared. William swore that within the year he would come to exact all his debt, and pursue his perjury even in those places where he thought he stood the safest and the firmest.⁵

As far as publicity could go in the eleventh century, the Norman published what he called the signal bad faith of the

¹ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 150. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 448.

² Sur bons saintuaires. *Chron. de Normandie*, *Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 229. That he swore mid hys ryght honde. *Robert of Gloster*, tom. ii. p. 358. Et lingua et manu. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 192.

³ *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 5. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 449. *Math. Paris.*, tom. i. p. 2. *Ranulph. Higden.*, p. 28.

⁴ Iterum amica familiaritate mandavit. *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 5.

⁵ Se ferro debitum vindicaturum, et illic iturum quo Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 97. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 900. *Math. Paris.*, tom. i. p. 2. *Aluredus Beverlac.*, p. 128.

Saxon.¹ The general influence of superstitious ideas prevented the disinterested spectators of this dispute from understanding the patriotic conduct of Godwin's son and his scrupulous deference to the will of the people who had made him king. The opinion of the mass of men on the continent was for William against Harold—for the man who had made of gospels and relics a sort of snare to draw another into a pitfall—for the man who demanded the commission of treason, against him who refused to commit it. The negotiations with the Roman church, begun by Robert de Jumièges and Lanfranc, proceeded with vigour from the moment that a deacon of Lisieux carried beyond the Alps the news of the pretended crime of Harold and the whole English nation. The violated oath became the basis of a positive alliance between the Apostolical Church and the Duke of Normandy.² The Church adjudged England to the Norman by right of inheritance; and the Norman engaged to bring back the English to their obedience to Rome, and, like Canute the Dane, to raise in England an annual tribute for St. Peter. Four grounds of aggression were to be publicly alleged: the murder of young Alfred and his Norman companions;³ the expulsion of Robert de Jumièges from the archbishopric of Canterbury;⁴ the old promise made by Edward to William, to leave him his royalty; and lastly, the oath taken by Harold. All these points were discussed in the conclave of Lateran by the Pope and his cardinals. The Norman duke affected towards them the air of a plaintiff, stating his case before judges recognised by his adversary. But Harold acknowledged no responsibility to this tribunal,⁵ nor did he send any ambassador; being too proud to answer before foreigners for the free decisions of the people who had elected him, or having too much sense not to perceive that this show of impartial judgment was nothing more than a vain comedy, the mask of a confederacy already formed between the avarice of Rome and the ambition of the Norman.⁶

Nicholas III. the pope, created by the somewhat uncanonical power of German lances, had been dead for several

¹ Haroldi injustitia. *Eadmer.*, p. 5.

² Cum Guillelmus præpropere querela papam consuleret. *Willelm. Malmesb.* Ad apostolicum misit. *Ibid.* p. 100.

³ See Book II. p. 109.

⁴ *Ran. Higden.*, p. 285.

⁵ Judicium papæ parvipenderet. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 92.

⁶ *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 285.

years; and Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, reigned in his stead, under the name of Alexander II. The foreigners had taken no part in the election of the latter: he was the choice of the Romans; but it was that of a faction among them, the faction of the mendicant friars, at the head of whom was one Hildebrand, a man of ambition, skilful in intrigue, and possessing great strength of will and indefatigable perseverance. Hildebrand, assisted by the class of priests at once the poorest and the most despised, had, in spite of riches, obtained the promotion of his friend. Men clad in a frock without sleeves, carrying a bag on their shoulders and a gourd at their left side,¹ paraded the pope of their choice in triumph, amidst the crowd, who, according to the relation of a cotemporary, vainly shouted in his ears, "Go, leper; get thee gone, wallet-carrier."² Alexander made most of his partisans princes of the Church, priests, or cardinal brothers; and before this council it was that William's complaints against Harold and the English people were brought. The chosen of the mendicant friars, and his court, resolved almost with one accord, that William of Normandy, being cousin to King Edward, and consequently his heir, might legitimately entitle himself king of the English, and take possession of England.³

A pontifical diploma, signed with the cross, and sealed, according to the Roman custom, with a round leaden seal,⁴ was sent to the Norman duke; and, in order to give him still more confidence and security in his invasion, there were sent to him, along with the bull, a blessed standard and a ring containing a hair from the head of St. Peter, enchased in a diamond of great value. Thus did a few Italian priests declare a Norman *king* of England, without having taken the pains to inform themselves of the true signification in the English language of this title, which they rendered by that of *Rex*.⁵ This absurd decision was combated by some voices in the conclave itself; either through a spirit of opposition to the reigning pope and his friends, or through a sense of justice and a feeling of shame: but the majority, with Hildebrand

¹ Forum panniculi erant sine utraque manica, in sinistro latere pendebat cucurbita, in dextro mantica. *Benzo, Bishop of Alba, quoted by Potter, tom. v. p. 47.*

² Vade, leprose; vade, bavose; vade, perose. *Benzo, Bishop of Alba, quoted by Potter, tom. v. p. 47.*

³ *Chronique de Normandie, p. 227.*

⁴ In Latin, *bulia*—whence comes the vulgar name for papal letters.

⁵ See Book II. p. 66.

at their head, triumphed over these feeble clamours. The injurious reproaches, cast upon him on this occasion, had no power to move him; and at a future day, he even counted these affronts amongst his services which demanded pay from William. "Thou art not ignorant," he afterwards wrote to him, "of the pains that I have taken for the success of thy affairs; nor that, in particular, I have been branded with infamy by several of my colleagues. They murmured at seeing me display such warmth of soul and such zeal in the cause of homicide.¹ But, God knows, my intention was good. I thought thee a friend to the Holy Church; and I hoped that, by the grace from on high, thy good will towards the Church would increase with thy power."²

Before the bull, the banner, and the ring arrived in Normandy, William assembled a cabinet-council of his most intimate friends, to ask their advice and assistance. His two brothers by the mother's side, of whom one was Bishop of Bayeux and the other Count of Mortain, with William son of Osbert, Seneschal of Normandy—that is, the duke's lieutenant in the civil administration,³ attended this conference. All were of opinion that a descent must be made upon England, and promised William to serve him with their persons and property, and even to mortgage their inheritances. "But this is not all," said they to him; "you must ask the aid and counsel of the generality of the inhabitants of this country; for it is but right that they, who are to pay the expenses, be called upon to give their consent."⁴ Then, say the chronicles, William convoked a great assembly of men of all classes in Normandy, of the warriors, priests, and commercial men possessing the greatest wealth and consideration. The duke unfolded to them his project, and solicited their assistance; after which they retired to deliberate, that their decision might be free and uninfluenced.⁵

In the debate which ensued, opinion was strongly divided; some thinking it proper to assist the duke with ships, provi-

¹ Qua pro re a quibusdam fratribus pæne infamiam pertuli, submurmurantibus quod ad tanta homicidia perpetranda tanto favore operam meam impendissem. *Epistola Gregorii VII., apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xiv. p. 648.

² *Ibid.* Guill. Pictav., p. 197. *Math. Paris.*, p. 2.

³ *Seneschal.*—This word, derived from the Frank tongue, signifies properly a servant, a keeper of flocks, a housekeeper. The *senes-schalch* was an office in the household of the Frank kings; and, after the conquest, became a political dignity in Gaul.

⁴ *Chronique de Normandie, Histoire de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*

sions, and money, while others refused every kind of aid, saying that they had already more debts than they knew how to pay. This discussion was not without tumult; and the members of the assembly, having quitted their seats, gathered together in groups, talking and gesticulating with great clamour.¹ In the midst of this disorder, the seneschal of Normandy, William son of Osbert, raised his voice and said: "Why dispute in this way? He is your lord, and he needs your services; it is your duty to offer them and not to wait his request. If you are backward and he gains his end, by God! he will remember it. Show, then, that you love him, and act with a good grace." "Doubtless," exclaimed those on the opposite side, "he is our lord; but is it not sufficient that we pay him his revenue punctually? We owe him no aid to go beyond sea. He has burdened us too much already by his wars: if he fail in his new expedition, our country is ruined."² After many speeches and replies in various directions, it was decided that the son of Osbert, who knew the means of each, should be appointed to make the excuses of the assembly for the smallness of their offers.³

The Normans all returned to the duke; and the son of Osbert spoke as follows: "I do not think that there are in the world people more zealous than these. You know the aids which they have furnished, and the weighty services they have rendered to you. Well—they now wish to do more; they purpose to serve you on the other side of the sea as on this. Go on, and spare them in nothing. He, who has hitherto furnished you with two good combatants on horseback, will be at the expense of double that number."⁴ "No, no," cried those around with one voice; "we did not charge you with any such answer. It cannot be—it cannot be. Whatever he has to perform in his own country, we will assist him in, as it is our duty to do; but we are not bound to aid him in conquering the country of others. Besides, if we were once to offer him double service and to follow him beyond the sea, he would make it a custom and a right for the future, and would use it to oppress our children. It cannot be—it cannot be." The groups of ten, twenty, or thirty, again

¹ *Chronique de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii.

² *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 255. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 98.

³ *Chron. de Normandie. Henrici Hunting.*, p. 367. *Henric. Knighton*, p. 2342.

⁴ *Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de France*, tom. xiii. p. 226. *Roberti de Monte Appendix ad Sigebertum, ibid.* tom. xi. p. 168.

began to collect, the tumult became general, and the assembly separated.¹

William, though surprised and enraged beyond measure, nevertheless dissimulated his anger, and had recourse to an artifice which has scarcely ever failed in its effect, when powerful men have employed it to overcome popular resistance. William sent for those men separately, whom he had called together in a body, beginning with the richest and most influential, and begged that they would come to his aid purely as a favour and a gratuitous gift, affirming that he had no design whatever of doing them any wrong in future, or abusing their liberality to their own prejudice—even offering to pledge his word for this by giving them letters under his great seal.² No one had courage to pronounce a refusal singly, in the face of the chief of the country, in a private interview. What they granted was immediately registered, and the example of the first determined those who came after. One subscribed for vessels, another for men and arms, and another offered to march in person. The priests gave their money, the merchants their stuffs, and the country people their provisions.³

The consecrated banner and the bull authorising the aggression against England speedily arrived from Rome. The sight of these things excited double eagerness: every one brought what he could; and mothers sent their sons to enlist for the salvation of their souls.⁴ William had his proclamation of war published in the neighbouring countries; and offered good pay and the plunder of England to every tall and stout man who would serve him with spear, sword, or cross-bow.⁵ A multitude came, by all roads, from far and near—from the north and from the south—from Maine and from Anjou, from Poitou and from Brittany, from the French country and from Flanders, from Aquitaine and from Burgundy, from Piedmont and from the banks of the Rhine. All the adventurers by profession,

¹ *Chronique de Normandie*, p. 226.

Moult oissiez court estourmir,
Noises lever, barons frémir.

Wace, Roman de Rou, ibid.

² Et teles lettres come ils en vouldroient deviser, il lor en feroit. *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 226.

³ *Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Proceri corpore, præstantes robore. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 99. *Anglicæ prædæ inhiantes. Ord. Vital.*, p. 494.

all the outcasts of Europe, came eagerly and by forced marches. Some were cavaliers or warlike chiefs, others on foot and merely *servants-at-arms*, as they were then called. Some asked for pay in money; others only for their passage and all the booty they could take: many wished for land among the English, a domain, a castle, or a town; while others would be content with some rich Saxon woman in marriage.¹ Every wish, every project of human covetousness presented itself. William rejected no one, says the Norman chronicle, but found room for each one according to his ability.² He even went so far as to sell an English bishopric beforehand to one Remy of Fescamp, for a ship and twenty armed men.³

During the spring and summer, workmen were employed at all the ports of Normandy in building and fitting out vessels; the smiths and armourers manufactured spears, swords, and coats of mail, and porters were continually going backwards and forwards, carrying the arms from the manufactories to the ships.⁴ While these preparations were carrying on with great haste, William repaired to St. Germain, to Philip, king of the French, and, saluting him with a deferential style which his ancestors had often omitted when addressing the kings of the Frank country, said: "You are my lord: if it please you to assist me, should I with God's grace obtain my right over England, I promise to do homage to you for it, as if I held it from you."⁵ Philip assembled a council of barons or frankmen, without which he was not permitted to decide any public question; and the barons were of opinion that William ought not in any way to be assisted in his conquest.—"You know," said they to their king, "how few Normans obey you even now; and when they possess England, it will be quite otherwise. Besides, were we to assist the duke, it would cost our country a great deal; and if he were to fail in his enterprise, the English nation would be our enemy for ever."⁶

William's request being thus refused, he retired, dissatisfied with King Philip, and addressed a similar one to Baudoin, Count of Flanders, his brother-in-law, and met with a similar refusal.⁷ The chief or duke of the Bretons, named Conan, on

¹ *Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii.

² *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 227.

³ *Anonym: edit. à Taylor. Orderic. Vitalis*, p. 494.

⁴ *Tapiserie de Bayeux*.

⁵ *Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 227.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Chron. de Normandie*.

his part, sent a message to the Duke of Normandy, requiring him, since he was about to be King of England, to give up his duchy to the legitimate issue of Rolf, from whom he said he was himself a descendant by the female side. The man who made this imprudent demand did not long survive it; and his sudden death by poison was generally, and in Brittany especially, imputed to William the Bastard. Conan's successor, named Eudes, far from giving alarm to the Bastard respecting his right to Normandy, sent two of his sons to serve him in his war against the English. These two young Bretons, named Brian and Allan, came to the gathering of the Norman troops, attended by a troop of men, who followed them as chiefs of clans, according to the nature of the Celtic populations, and entitled them *mac-tierns*,¹ while the Normans called them *counts*. Other rich Bretons of a mixed race and bearing names turned in the French manner, as *Robert de Vetry*, *Bertrand de Dinan*, and *Raoul de Gaël*, also joined William as volunteers and soldiers of fortune.²

The place of meeting for the vessels and the warriors was at the mouth of the Dive, a river that falls into the sea betwixt the Seine and the Orme. For a month the winds were contrary, and kept the Norman fleet in port; after which a south breeze carried it as far as St. Valery, near Dieppe. There the bad weather again set in, so that it was necessary to cast anchor and wait for several days.

During this delay the storm caused several vessels to strike, and their crews perished. This accident produced a great sensation among the troops, fatigued by a prolonged encampment. The soldiers passed their idle hours in conversing under their tents and communicating their reflections on the dangers of the voyage and the difficulties of the enterprise.³ There had not yet been a battle, said they, and already many men were dead; they calculated and exaggerated the number of bodies which had been washed ashore. These reports abated the ardour of the adventurers at first so full of zeal; and some of them even broke their engagements and withdrew.⁴ To stop the progress of this disposition, which would have been fatal to his projects, William had the dead secretly

¹ Sons of chiefs. *Tiern*, a chief; in Welsh, *Teyrn*. *Hist. de Bretagne*, par Dom Lobineau.

² *Histoire de Bretagne*, tom i. pp. 97, 98. *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 126.

³ Per tabernacula mussitabant. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 100.

⁴ Pavida fuga multorum, qui fidem sponderant. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 158.

interred, and added strong liquors to the rations of provisions.¹ But the want of activity constantly brought back the same melancholy and discouraging thoughts. "Foolish," said the soldiers, murmuring, "very foolish is the man who seeks to possess himself of another's land; God is offended at such designs, and shows His displeasure by refusing us a fair wind."²

Either from conviction and as a last resource, or to furnish some distraction to the minds of their followers, the Norman chiefs had the relics of St. Valery, the patron saint of the place, carried through the camp with great pomp. The whole army began to pray; and the next night the wind changed, and the weather was favourable. Four hundred ships with large masts and sails, and more than a thousand transport-boats, put off from shore at the same signal. William's vessel led the van, bearing at the mast-head the banner sent by the Pope, and a cross upon its flag. Its sails were of different colours; and the three lions, the Norman ensign, were painted on them in several places. At the prow was carried the figure of a child with a bended bow and an arrow ready to fly.³ This vessel, being a better sailer than the rest, preceded them the whole day, and at night left them far behind it. In the morning, the duke sent a sailor to the top of the great mast, to see if the other vessels were approaching. "I see nothing but sea and sky," said the man; and anchor was immediately cast.⁴ William affected to be gay; and, lest anxiety and fear should seize upon the crew, he ordered a sumptuous repast to be served up, with wines strongly spiced.⁵ The sailor went up again; and said that this time he descried four vessels; and the third time he ascended he cried out, "I see a forest of masts and sails."⁶

While this great armament was preparing in Normandy, Harold the Norwegian, faithful to his engagements with the Saxon Tostig, had assembled his soldiers, with several hundred vessels of war and transports. The fleet remained for some time at anchor; and the Norwegian army, waiting the signal

¹ *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 198.

² *Insanire hominem qui vellet alienum solum in jus suum refundere; Deum contra tendere, qui ventum areeret. Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 100.

³ *Dr. Strutt's Norman Antiquities*, pl. xxxii. *Wace. Thom. Rudborne, in Anglia Sacra*, p. 247. *Tapisserie de Bayeux*.

⁴ *Nihil aliud præter Pælagus et æra. Guil. Pictav.*, p. 199.

⁵ *Nec baccho pigmentato carens. Ibid.*

⁶ *Arborum veliferarum nemus. Ibid. Chronique de Normandie*, p. 128. *Script. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 360. *Guill. Gemet.*, p. 286.

for departure, encamped on the shore, as the Normans did on the banks of the Dive. Some vague impressions of discouragement and disquiet likewise manifested themselves in it, but under appearances more gloomy and conformable to the dreary imaginations of the people of the north. Several soldiers believed that they had had prophetic revelations in their sleep. One dreamt that he saw his companions disembarked on the English coast, and in presence of the English army; and that before the front of that army rode a woman of gigantic stature, mounted on a wolf: the wolf held in his jaws a human body dripping with blood, and when he had devoured it the woman gave him another.¹ A second soldier dreamt that the fleet was departing, and that a cloud of ravens, vultures, and birds of prey came and perched upon the masts and yards: on a neighbouring rock was sitting a female, who held in her hand a naked sword, looking towards and counting the ships. "Go," said she to the birds, "go without fear; you shall have whereof to eat; you shall have your choice; I go with them."² It was remarked, not without terror, that at the moment when Harold stepped upon his royal sloop, the weight of his body made it sink deeper in the water than it was wont to do.³

Notwithstanding these sinister auspices, the expedition set forward towards the south-west, under the command of the king and his son Olaf. Before landing in the island of Britain they slackened sail at the Orkneys, which were peopled by men of the Scandinavian race; and were joined by two chiefs and a bishop of those islands. They then coasted along the eastern side of Scotland; and there they met Tostig and his vessels. They sailed together; and, as they passed along, attacked the port of Scarborough. Finding the inhabitants disposed to make an obstinate resistance, they made themselves masters of a rock which overlooked the town: on this they heaped up an enormous pile of trunks and branches of trees with stubble thrown between, which they set fire to and rolled down upon the houses; then, favoured by the conflagration, they forced the gates, and plundered the town.⁴ Relieved by this first success from their superstitious terrors, they gaily doubled the point of Holderness at the mouth of the Humber, and sailed up that river.

¹ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 152.

² *Ibid.*, tom. i. p. 152.

³ *Ibid.* *Torſæus, Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. p. 351.

⁴ *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. ii. p. 154. *Torſæi Hist.*, tom. ii. p. 351.

From the Humber they passed into the Ouse, which falls into it, and runs near York, then the largest town in all Northumbria. Tostig, who directed the plan of the campaign of the Norwegians, wished above all things to reconquer by their aid the capital of his former government, that he might be installed in it as chief. Morkar his successor, Edwin brother to Morkar, and the young Waltheof son of Siward, now become chief of the province of Huntingdon, called to arms the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country, and gave battle to the foreigners, to the south of York, on the banks of the Humber. Conquerors at first, but afterwards forced to fly, they shut themselves up in York, where the Norwegians besieged them. Tostig once more entitled himself chief of the country; and published proclamations dated from the camp of the foreigners: some weak men acknowledged him; and a few adventurers answered his call.¹

While these things were passing in the north, the king of the Anglo-Saxons, with all his forces, was on the southern coast, observing the movements of William, whose invasion, which had been long expected, had excited great alarm. Harold had passed the whole summer on his guard, near the places of disembarkation nearest to Normandy.² The delay of the expedition began to give rise to the belief that it would not be ready to sail before winter. Besides, the danger was greater from the northern enemies, who were already masters of a part of the English territory, than from the other enemy, who had not yet set foot in England; and the son of Godwin, bold and quick in all his projects, hoped in the course of a few days to have driven the Northumbrians away and returned in time to receive the Normans. He set out on a hasty march at the head of his troops, and arrived in the night under the walls of York, at the moment when the town had just capitulated for its surrender to the allies of Tostig. The Norwegians had not yet made their entry; but, on the word of the inhabitants and their conviction of the impossibility of that word's being retracted, they had broken up their lines, and dismissed their soldiers to repose. The inhabitants on their part thought only of receiving, the very next morning, Tostig and the king of the northern people, who were to hold a great council to

¹ *Torfæi Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. p. 351. *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 157.

² Haroldus interea promptus ad decernendum, sive navali, sive terrestri prælio, ad littus maritimum opperiens. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 197.

regulate the government of the whole province, and distribute among the foreigners and the refugees, the lands of the English rebels against the dominion of the conqueror.¹

The unforeseen arrival of the Saxon king, who had marched in such a manner as to avoid the enemy's posts, and had met no traitor on the road to give notice of his approach, changed all these dispositions. The citizens of York again took up arms; the gates were shut, and kept so that no one could quit the town to repair to the Norwegian camp. The following day was one of those in autumn, on which the sun still shines in all his power. The portion of the Norwegian army, who left the camp on the Humber to follow their king towards York, thinking they had no adversary to encounter, went without their coats of mail, on account of the heat, and took with them no other armour than their helmets and shields. The Norwegians observed all at once, at some distance from the town, a great cloud of dust, and beneath this cloud something glittering like steel in the sun. "What are these men who are marching towards us?" said the king to Tostig. "They cannot be any other," replied the Saxon, "than Englishmen coming to ask pardon and implore our friendship."² The body of men which was advancing seemed gradually to increase; it was a numerous army ranged in order of battle. "The enemy! the enemy!" cried the Norwegians; and detached three horsemen with orders to the warriors who had been left at the camp and on board the ships to come with all diligence. The king displayed his standard, which he called *the ravager of the world*;³ and the soldiers ranged themselves in a long but weak line, bending at the extremities. They kept close to one another, and their spears were planted against the ground, with the points inclined towards the enemy; but they all wanted the most important part of their armour. Harold, the son of Sigurd, as he rode along the ranks on his black horse, sung extempore verses, a fragment of which has been handed down to us by the historians of the north. "Let us fight," said he, "let us march, though without cuirasses, under the stroke of the blue steel: our helmets glitter in the sun; they are enough for the valiant."⁴

¹ Snorre's *Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 157. Roger. de Hoveden, p. 448. Henrici Knighton, p. 2341.

² Snorre, tom. iii. pp. 158, 159.

³ *Land-eyda*, or *Land-æde*. Snorre, p. 159.

⁴ Snorre's *Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 161. *Gesta Danorum*, tom. ii. pp. 164, 165.

Before the closing of the two armies, twenty Saxon horsemen, both men and horses covered with steel, approached the Norwegian lines, and one of them cried with a loud voice, "Where is Tostig, the son of Godwin?" "He is here," answered the son of Godwin for himself. "If thou be Tostig," resumed the messenger, "thy brother tells thee by my mouth that he salutes thee, and offers thee peace, his friendship, and thy former honours." "These," said Tostig, "are fine words, and very different from the hostilities which I have experienced for a twelvemonth. But, if I accept these offers, what will there be for the noble King Harold, the son of Sigurd?" "He shall have," returned the messenger, "seven feet of English ground, and a little more, for he is taller than most other men."¹ "Then," replied Tostig, "tell my brother to prepare for battle; never shall it be said by any but a liar, that the son of Godwin abandoned the son of Sigurd."²

The battle immediately began; and, almost in the first onset, the Norwegian king was shot with an arrow in the throat. Tostig took the command of the army; and then Harold sent a second time to offer him and the Norwegians peace and life.³ But they all cried out that they would rather die than owe anything to the Saxons. At this moment the men from the ships came up armed with cuirasses, but fatigued with their march under a burning sun. Though numerous, they could not sustain the attack of the English, who had dispersed the first line of the combatants and taken the royal standard. Tostig was killed, with most of his chiefs. Harold now, for the third time, offered peace to the vanquished, and they accepted it. Olaf, son to the deceased king, and the chief and bishop of the Orkneys, returned with twenty-three ships, after swearing amity with England.⁴ The country of the English was thus delivered from a new conquest by the men of the north. But while these enemies were departing, others were approaching; and the same breath of wind that waved the victorious Saxon banners as in triumph, also filled the Norman sails and wafted them towards the coast of Sussex.

By an unfortunate mischance, the vessels which had been

¹ Quid ex Anglia ei concessum velit; spatium (nimiram) terræ septem pedum aut non nihil majus. *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 160.

² *Ibid.*

³ Pacem et vitam obtulit. *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 161.

⁴ *Snorre*, pp. 161, 167. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye. *Hist. Danic. Isaac. Pontani*, p. 186.

cruising along that coast, had just before retired for want of provisions.¹ William's troops landed, without encountering any resistance, at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the 28th of September in the year 1066, three days after Harold's victory over the Norwegians. The archers landed first; they wore short habits, and had their hair cut close. Next followed the horsemen, wearing steel head-pieces, tunics, and cuirasses, and armed with long heavy spears and straight two-edged swords. After them came the workmen of the army, pioneers, carpenters, and smiths, who unloaded on the shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles framed and prepared beforehand. The duke was the last that came ashore; and in setting his foot upon the land, he made a false step, and fell upon his face. A murmur immediately arose; and some voices cried out, "God preserve us! This is a bad sign!"² But William, rising instantly, said, "What is the matter? What astonishes you? I have grasped this land with my hands; and, by the splendour of God, how far soever it may extend, it is mine, it is yours."³ This quick repartee prevented the effect of the bad omen. The army marched towards Hastings; near that place the encampment was traced, and the wooden castles were erected and furnished with provisions, that they might serve as a retreat in case of necessity. Bodies of soldiers went over the neighbouring country, plundering and burning the houses.⁴ The English fled from their dwellings, concealed their furniture and cattle, and flocked to the churches and churchyards, which they thought the most secure asylum from enemies who were Christians like themselves. But the Normans, being resolved, as an old narrator expresses it, to *gaingner*,⁵ made but little account of the sanctity of places, and respected no asylum.⁶

Harold was at York, wounded, and resting from his fatigues, when a messenger came in great haste, to tell him that William of Normandy had landed and planted his standard on the Saxon territory.⁷ He marched towards the south with his

¹ Victu deficiente. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 448.

² Mal signe à chi. *Wace, Roman de Rou.—Nouveaux Details*, p. 290.

³ Seignour, par la resplendour Dé,
Tout est vostre quanque j a.—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Tapisserie de Bayeux.*

⁵ To gain, to get.—*Wace, Roman de Rou.*

⁶ *Chronique de Normandie, Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 228. *Guill. Malmesb.*, p. 100. *Henrici Knighton*, p. 2341. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 311.

⁷ . . . that Duc William to Hastings was ycome, and his bannere hadde yverd, and the countrey all ynome. *Rob. of Gloster's Chron.*, p. 359. *Ingulf.*

victorious army, publishing, as he passed along, an order to all his chiefs of counties to put all their fighting men under arms and lead them towards London. The militias of the west came without delay; those of the north were later, on account of the distance; but there was, nevertheless, reason to believe that the king of the English would soon be surrounded by the whole force of the country. One of those Normans, in whose favour the law of banishment passed against them had formerly been violated, and who now played the part of spies and secret agents of the invader, sent word to the duke to be on his guard, for that in four days the son of Godwin would have about him a hundred thousand men.¹ Harold, too quick in his movements, did not wait four days. He could not master his eagerness for coming to an engagement with the foreigners, especially when he learned the ravages of every description which they were committing round their camp.² The hope of sparing his countrymen some misery, and perhaps the desire of making an abrupt and unexpected attack upon the Normans, like that which had already once procured him the victory, determined him to march towards Hastings with forces not exceeding in number one-fourth of the invaders.³

But William's camp was carefully guarded against a surprise, and his posts extended to a considerable distance. Bodies of cavalry gave notice, by their falling back, of the approach of the Saxon king, who, they said, appeared to march at a furious rate.⁴ The Saxon's design of assailing the enemy unawares being thus prevented, he was obliged to moderate his impetuosity. He halted at the distance of seven miles from the camp of the Normans, and, all at once changing his tactics, entrenched himself, in order to wait for them, behind ditches and palisades. Spies, who spoke the French language, were sent to the foreign army to observe its dispositions and its strength; at their return they related with astonishment that there were more priests in William's camp than fighting men

Croyl., p. 900. *Suppletio Historiæ Regni Angliæ, MSS. in the British Museum.*

¹ *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 228. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 199.

² Quod propinqua castris Normannorum vastari audierat. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 201.

³ Modico stipatus agmine quadruplo congressus exercitu. *MSS. Abbatie Waltham, in the British Museum. Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 634. *Gervas. Tilbur.*, p. 945. **Reg. Hoved.*, p. 448. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 900.

⁴ Rex furibundus. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 201.

in that of the English. They had taken for priests all the men of the Norman army who had their beards shaved and their hair cut; for it was then the custom of the English to let their hair and their beards grow. Harold could not help smiling at this story: "Those whom you have seen in such numbers," said he, "are not priests, but good soldiers, who will make us feel what they are."¹ Several of the Saxon captains advised the king to avoid a battle, and retreat towards London, ravaging the country in his way, in order to distress the foreigners. "No," replied Harold—"Ravage the country which has been entrusted to my care!—No—never!—I will rather try the chances of battle with the few men I have, my courage, and the goodness of my cause."²

The Norman duke, whose character was diametrically opposite, and who, in all circumstances, neglected no opportunity of placing interest above personal pride, nor ever brought his strength into play until his craft had failed, took advantage of the unfavourable position, in which he beheld his adversary, to renew his summonses and his demands. A monk, named Hugues Maigrot, came in William's name, to call upon the Saxon king to do one of three things—either to resign his royalty in favour of William, or to refer it to the arbitration of the Pope to decide which of the two ought to be king, or to let it be determined by the issue of a single combat. Harold abruptly replied, "I will not resign my title, I will not refer it to the Pope, nor will I accept the single combat."³ He was far from being deficient in bravery; but he was no more at liberty to stake the crown which he had received from a whole people in the chance of a duel, than to deposit it in the hands of an Italian priest. William, not at all ruffled by the Saxon's refusal, but steadily pursuing the course of his calculated measures, sent the Norman monk again, after giving him these instructions.—"Go and tell Harold, that if he will keep his former compact with me, I will leave to him all the country which is beyond the Humber, and will give his brother Gurth all the lands which Godwin held. If he still persist in refusing my offers, then thou shalt tell him, before all his people, that he is a perjurer and a liar; that he and all who shall

¹ *Wace, Roman de Rou. Mémoires de l'Academ. des Inscript., tom. viii. Math. Paris., tom. i. p. 3.*

² *Par ma foi, dit Herault, je ne détruirai pas le pays que j'ai à garder. Chronique de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. xiii. p. 229.*

³ *Chronique de Normandie, p. 230. Guil. Pictav., p. 201.*

support him are excommunicated by the mouth of the Pope ; and that the bull to that effect is in my hands." ¹

Hugues Maigrot delivered this message in a solemn tone ; and the Norman chronicle says that at the word *excommunication*, the English chiefs looked at one another as if some great danger were impending. One of them then spoke as follows : " We must fight, whatever may be the danger to us ; for what we have to consider is not whether we shall accept and receive a new lord as if our king were dead ; the case is quite otherwise. The Norman has given our lands to his captains, to his knights, to all his people ; the greater part of whom have already done homage to him for them : they will all look for their gift, if their duke become our king ; and he himself is bound to deliver up to them our goods, our wives, and our daughters : all is promised to them beforehand. They come, not only to ruin us, but to ruin our descendants also, and to take from us the country of our ancestors. And what shall we do ?—whither shall we go ?—when we have no longer a country." ² The English promised, by a unanimous oath, to make neither peace, nor truce, nor treaty with the invader, but to die, or drive away the Normans. ³

The carrying backwards and forwards of these useless messages occupied a whole day. It was the eighteenth after the battle fought with the Norwegians near York. Harold's precipitate march had not permitted any fresh body of troops to join him at his camp. Edwin and Morkar, the two great chiefs of the north, were at London or on the way thither. There came only some volunteers, one by one or in small bands, townspeople armed in haste, or monks who deserted their cloisters at the call of their country. Among the latter arrived Leofric, chief of the Abbey of Peterborough near Ely, a rich monastery, which was emphatically called *the golden city* ; ⁴ and the abbot of the Convent of Hida, near Winchester, who likewise marched in person against the invaders of England, bringing with him twenty armed men raised at his own expense. ⁵ The hour of battle seemed rapidly approaching : Harold's two younger brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, chose their post near him ; the former attempted to persuade him not

¹ *Chronique de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 231

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Se gyldene burh. Chron. Saxon. Gibson.*

⁵ *De domo sua 12 monachos, et 20 milites pro servitio. Monastic. Anglican.*, tom. i. p. 210.

to be present at the action, but to go towards London for fresh reinforcements while his friends sustained the attack. "Harold," said the young man, "thou canst not deny that, either willingly or by force, thou tookest an oath to Duke William on the bodies of the saints. Then why expose thyself to the hazards of a battle with a perjury upon thee? As for us, who have sworn nothing, justice is on our side, for we are defending our country. Let us then fight alone: thou wilt support us if we give way; if we die, thou wilt avenge us."¹ At these touching words from the mouth of a brother, Harold replied that his duty forbade him to stand apart while others were risking their lives.² Too full of confidence in his bravery and the goodness of his cause, he disposed his troops for the fight.³

On the ground which afterwards bore, and still bears the name of *Battle*,⁴ the Anglo-Saxon lines occupied a long chain of hills, fortified on all sides with a rampart of stakes and osier hurdles. In the night of the 13th of October, William announced to the Normans that the next day would be the day of battle. The priests and monks, who had followed the invading army in great numbers, being attracted like the soldiers by the hope of booty,⁵ assembled together to offer up prayers and sing litanies, while the fighting men were preparing their arms and their horses. The adventurers employed the time which remained to them after this first care, in confessing their sins and receiving the sacrament. In the other army, the night was passed in quite a different manner; the Saxons diverted themselves with great noise; and sung their old national songs, while they emptied horns of beer and wine round their fires.⁶

In the morning the Bishop of Bayeux, son of William's mother by a citizen of Falaise, celebrated mass in the Norman camp, armed with a hauberk under his pontifical habit; he then mounted a large white horse, took a spear in his hand, and drew up his brigade of horse. The whole army was

¹ Fugientes restituere, vel mortuos vindicare. *Math. Paris.*, tom. i. p. 2. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 100.

² *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 100. *Torfæi Hist. Norweg.*

³ Nimis præceps et virtute sua præsumens. *Waltham MSS.*

⁴ Batayl. *Battle*, according to the modern orthography. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 501. *Monastic. Anglican.*, tom. i. p. 311. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 201.

⁵ Gratia commodi ecclesie sue cum reliquis se exercitui immiscuerat. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 311.

⁶ *Wace, Roman de Rou. Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii, pp. 231, 232.

divided into three columns of attack. In the first were the soldiers from the county of Boulogne and from Ponthieu, with most of those engaged personally for pay; the second comprised the auxiliaries from Brittany, Maine, and Poitou; the third, consisting of the recruits from Normandy, was commanded by William in person. At the head of each division marched several ranks of light-armed infantry, clad in quilted cassocks, and carrying upright bows of the height of a man, or crossbows of steel. The duke mounted a Spanish horse, which a rich Norman had brought him when he returned from a pilgrimage to St. James of Galicia; and from his neck were suspended the most venerated of the relics on which Harold had sworn. The standard blessed by the Pope was carried at his side by a young man called Toustain Leblanc.¹ At the moment when the troops were about to advance, William, raising his voice, thus addressed them—

“Remember to fight well, and put all to death; for if we conquer, we shall all be rich; what I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I take the land, you will have it. Know, however, that I am not come here only to obtain my right; but also to avenge our whole race for the felonies, perjuries, and treacheries of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, on St. Bride’s night. They decimated the companions of my kinsman Auvré,² and took his life. Come on, then; and let us, with God’s help, chastise them for all these misdeeds.”

The army was soon within sight of the Saxon camp, to the north-west of Hastings. The priests and monks then detached themselves from it, and ascended a neighbouring height, to pray, and witness the conflict.³ A Norman named Taillefer spurred his horse forward in front, and began the song of the exploits of Charlemagne and Roland, famous throughout Gaul. As he sung, he played with his sword, throwing it up with force in the air, and receiving it again in his right hand. The Normans joined in chorus, or cried, God be our help! God be our help!⁴

¹ Appendit suo collo reliquias. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 201. *Roman de Rou. Chronique de Normandie*, pp. 231, 232.

² It was thus that the Normans wrote and pronounced the name of Alfred. *Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xlii. p. 232. *Wace, Roman de Rou.*

³ . . . pour orer.

Et pour la bataille esgarder. *Roman de Rou.*

⁴ Diex aïe! *Roman de Rou. Chron. de Normandie*, p. 234. *Henrici Huntingd.*, p. 368.

As soon as they came within bowshot, the archers and crossbow-men began to discharge their arrows; but most of the shots were deadened by the high parapet of the Saxon redoubts. The infantry, armed with spears, and the cavalry then advanced to the entrances of the redoubts and endeavoured to force them. The Anglo-Saxons, all on foot around their standard planted in the ground, and forming behind their redoubts one compact and solid mass, received the assailants with heavy blows of their battle-axes, which, with a back-stroke, broke their spears and clove their coats of mail.¹ The Normans, unable either to penetrate the redoubts or to tear up the palisades, and fatigued with their unsuccessful attack, fell back upon the division commanded by William. The Duke then commanded all his archers again to advance, and ordered them not to shoot point-blank, but to discharge their arrows upwards, so that they might descend over the rampart of the enemy's camp. Many of the English were wounded, chiefly in the face, in consequence of this manœuvre; Harold himself lost an eye by an arrow, but he nevertheless continued to command and to fight. The close attack of the foot and horse recommenced, to the cry of "Our Lady! God be our help! God be our help!"² But the Normans were repulsed at one entrance of the Saxon camp, as far as a great ravine covered with grass and brambles, in which, their horses stumbling, they fell pell-mell, and numbers of them perished. There was now a momentary panic in the army of the foreigners; it was rumoured that William was killed, and at this news they began to fly. William threw himself before the fugitives, and barred their passage, threatening them, and striking them with his lance;³ then, uncovering his head, "Here I am," cried he; "look at me; I am still alive, and with God's help I will conquer."⁴

The horsemen returned to the redoubts; but, as before, they could neither force the entrance nor make a breach. The Duke then bethought himself of a stratagem to draw the English out of their position and their ranks. He ordered a thousand horse to advance and immediately fly.⁵ At the sight

¹ *Sævissimas secures. Guil. Pictav., p. 201.*

² *Chronique de Normandie. Math. Parisiensis, pp. 2, 3. Monastic. Anglic., tom. i. p. 311. Guil. Pictav., p. 201.*

³ *Verberans aut minans hasta. Guil. Pictav., p. 202.*

⁴ *Vivo et vincam, opitulante Deo. Ibid. Chronique de Normandie, pp. 234, 235.*

⁵ *Chronique de Normandie, pp. 234, 235.*

of this feigned rout, the Saxons were thrown off their guard ; and all set off in pursuit, with their axes suspended from their necks. At a certain distance, a body of troops posted there for the purpose joined the fugitives, who then turned round ; and the English, surprised in the midst of their disorder, were assailed on all sides with spears and swords, which they could not ward off, both hands being occupied in wielding their heavy axes.¹ When they had lost their ranks, the openings of the redoubts were forced, and horse and foot entered together ; but the combat was still warmly maintained, pell-mell and hand to hand. William had his horse killed under him. Harold and his two brothers fell dead at the foot of their standard, which was plucked from the ground, and the flag sent from Rome planted in its stead. The remains of the English army, without a chief and without a standard, prolonged the struggle until it was so dark that the combatants on each side could recognise one another only by their language.²

Having, says an old historian, rendered all which they owed to their country,³ the remnant of Harold's companions dispersed, and many remained lying on the roads, in consequence of their wounds and the day's fatigue. The Normans, in their exultation for the victory, leaped their horses over the bodies of the vanquished.⁴ They passed the night on the field of battle ; and at sunrise, William drew up his troops, and had all the men who had followed him across the sea called over from the roll which had been prepared before his departure from St. Valery. The captains and soldiers were called over by their names and surnames. But a great many did not answer ;⁵ a great many who had come with the hope of conquest and riches, lay dead or dying beside the Saxons. The fortunate survivors had, as the first profits of their victory, the spoils of the dead. In turning over the bodies, there were found thirteen wearing under their arms the monastic habit : these were the Abbot of Hida and his twelve companions ; the name of their monastery was inscribed in the black book of the conquerors.⁶

¹ *Chronique de Normandie*, pp. 234, 235.

² *Ibid.* *Guill. Pictav.*, pp. 202, 203. *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 312. *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 224. *Eadmer.*, p. 6.

³ *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 202.

⁴ *Cursus super jacentes.* *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 203.

⁵ *Chronique de Normandie*, pp. 236, 237.

⁶ *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 210. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 203. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 102.

The mothers, wives, and children of those who had repaired to the field of battle from the neighbouring country, to die with the king of their choice, came trembling to bury the bodies stripped by the foreigners. That of Harold was humbly begged of William by two monks of the Convent of Waltham, founded by the sons of Godwin. As they approached the conqueror, they offered him ten marks of gold for leave to carry away the remains of him who had been their benefactor. William granted them his permission. They went to the heap of dead bodies, and examined them carefully one after another, but that which they sought was so much disfigured by wounds that they could not recognise it. Sorrowful, and despairing of succeeding in their search by themselves, they applied to a woman whom Harold, before he was king, had kept as his mistress, and entreated her to assist them. She was called Edith, and poetically surnamed *the Swan-necked*.¹ She consented to follow the two monks, and succeeded better than they had done, in discovering the corpse of the man whom she had loved.

These events are all related by the chroniclers of the English race in a tone of dejection which it is difficult to transfuse. They call the day of the battle a day of bitterness—a day of death—a day stained with the blood of the brave.² “England, what shall I say of thee?” exclaims the church historian of Ely; “what shall I say of thee to our sons?—That thou hast lost thy national king, and sinkest under the foreigner bathed in the blood of thy defenders!”³ Long after the day of this fatal conflict, patriotic superstition believed that its bloody traces were still to be seen on the ground which had drunk the blood of the warriors of their country.⁴ These traces are said to have been shown on the heights to the north-west of Hastings, when a little rain had moistened the soil. The conqueror made a vow to erect on this happy ground *for him*, as he himself expressed it, a convent dedicated to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul.⁵ Afterwards, when his

¹ Swanes-hals. *MSS. Abbatiae Waltham. Jo. Speed's Chronicle*, p. 4260.

² Hæc congressio, tam lethalis, tam amara, tot generosorum sanguine maculata. *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 224.

³ De te quid dicam, quid posteris referam? Væ tibi est Anglia. *Hist. Eliensis*, p. 516.

⁴ Verum sanguinem quasi recentem exsudat. *Guil. Neubrigensis Hist.*, p. 6.

⁵ *Chartæ Wilelmi Conquæst., apud Monastic. Anglican.*, tom. x. pp. 310, 312.

good fortune permitted him to fulfil this vow, the great altar of the monastery was placed on the spot where the Saxon standard had been torn down, and the circuit of the building so traced as to enclose all the hill which the bravest of the English had covered with their bodies. All the circumjacent land, on which the different scenes of the battle had been acted, became the property of this abbey, which, in the Norman or French language, was called Battle-Abbey.¹ A troop of monks, called over from beyond the Channel, came to take up their abode in it: they were portioned with the goods of the Saxons slain in the fight; and with their prayers for those whose weapons had laid them low, mingled curses on their memory.²

It is said that, when the first stone of the edifice was laid, the architects discovered that there would certainly be a want of water. This disagreeable news was carried to William. "Work, work away," replied the Norman bastard; "if God grant me life, there shall be more wine for the monks of the abbey to drink than there now is clear water in the best convent in Christendom."³

¹ Cum terra circumquaque adjacentē, sicut illa quæ mihi coronam tribuit. *Charta Willelmi. Conquæstoris, inter Not. ad Eadmer., ed. Selden, p. 165.* In Latin, *Abbatia de Bello.*

²*Monastic. Anglic., tom. i. p. 312.*

³Eidem loco ita prospiciam, ut magis ei vini abundet copia quam aquarum in alia præstanti abbatia. *Monast. Anglic. Dugdale, tom. i. p. 312.*

BOOK IV

FROM THE SIEGE OF DOVER TO THE TAKING OF CHESTER

WHILE the army of the king of the English and that of the foreign invader were in sight of each other, some fresh vessels from Normandy had crossed the strait in order to join the great fleet stationed off Hastings. Their commanders landed by mistake, several miles to the northward, in a place called *Rumen-ey*, now *Romney*. The people of the coast received the Normans as enemies; and a conflict took place, in which the foreigners were beaten.¹ William was apprised of their defeat when in the midst of his triumph, and, to prevent a similar disaster from befalling the rest of the recruits which he expected from over the channel, he resolved first of all to secure the possession of the south-east shores. Instead, therefore, of advancing towards London, he marched back to Hastings, and remained there for some time, to try if the presence of the conqueror would not of itself induce the population of the neighbouring country to make a voluntary submission. But no one came to solicit peace; and the conqueror recommenced his march, with the remains of his army, and the fresh troops which had reached him from Normandy.²

He went along the coast, from south to north, ravaging all in his way.³ At Romney, he revenged the rout of his soldiers by burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants. From Romney he marched to Dover, the strongest place on the whole coast, and that which he had formerly endeavoured to make himself master of, without conflict or danger, by the oath into which he surprised Harold. The fort of Dover, recently finished by the son of Godwin, amidst better hopes, was situated on a rock washed by the sea, which was naturally steep, and had been cut on all sides with great trouble and labour, so as to make it level and perpendicular like a wall.

¹Quos illuc errore appulsos fera gens adorta prælio fuderat. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 204.

²Cum intellexisset quod eum adire noluerunt. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

³Spoliavit totum istum tractum. *Ibid.*

The particulars of the siege by the Normans are unknown. All that we learn from the historians is, that the town of Dover was burned; and that, either through fear or through treason, those who held the fortress surrendered.¹ William passed eight days at Dover, constructing new walls and defensive works; then, changing the direction of his route, he turned aside from the coast, and marched towards the capital.

The Norman army advanced by the great Roman way, called by the English *Wæthling-street*, which had so often served as a common limit in the partitions of territory between the Saxons and the Danes.² This road led from Dover to London, through the middle of the province of Kent. The conquerors traversed a part of it without finding their passage disputed; but in one place, where the road approached the Thames, a large body of armed Saxons suddenly presented themselves, commanded by two ecclesiastics, Egelsig, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, and Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, the same who had anointed King Harold.³ It is not precisely known what passed in this encounter; whether there was a battle followed by a treaty between the two armies, or the capitulation was concluded without fighting. It appears, however, that the army of the Kentish men stipulated for their whole province, which promised to offer no further resistance to the conquerors, on condition of its remaining as free after the conquest as it had been before it.⁴

In thus treating for themselves, and separating their own destiny from that of the nation, the men of Kent (if, indeed, it be true that they made such a compact) did that which was more injurious to the common cause than advantageous for themselves; for there is no act of the time which proves that the foreigner kept his word with them and distinguished them from the rest of the English in his oppressive measures and enactments. Archbishop Stigand, having either taken part in this deplorable capitulation, or (which, from his bold and lofty character,⁵ is the more probable conjecture) vainly opposed it, quitted the province which laid down its arms,

¹ Armigeri exercitus nostri prædæ cupidine, ignem injecerunt. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 204.

² See Book II. p. 97.

³ *Chron. Willelmi Thorn.*, p. 1786.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Magnanimus enim erat valde, et inæstimabilis præsumptionis. *Chron. Gervasii Cantuariensis*, p. 1651.

and went to London, where no one had yet thought of a surrender. The inhabitants of that great town, and the chiefs assembled in it, had resolved to fight a second battle, which, if well prepared and well conducted, promised to be more fortunate than the first.¹

But there was wanting a supreme chief, round whom every force and every will might rally; and the national council which was to name this chief, agitated and divided as it was by various intrigues and pretensions, was tardy in coming to a decision. Neither of the brothers of the late king, men capable of filling his place with honour, had survived the battle of Hastings. Harold had left two sons; but they were yet too young and too little known to the people. It does not appear that they were then proposed as candidates for the royalty. The candidates most powerful in wealth and renown were Edwin and Morkar, the chiefs of Northumbria and Mercia, brothers-in-law to Harold. They had the suffrages of all the men of the north of England; but the citizens of London, the inhabitants of the south, and some others, opposed to them young Edgar, nephew to King Edward, and surnamed *Ætheling*, or the *illustrious*, because he was descended from several kings.² This young man, feeble in mind and without any acquired reputation, had, a year before, been unable to counterbalance the popularity of Harold; but he now counterbalanced that of the sons of Alfgar, and was supported against them by Stigand himself, and by Eldred, Archbishop of York.³

Most of the other bishops were neither for Edgar nor for his competitors; but demanded submission to the man who brought with him the Pope's bull and the standard blessed by St. Peter.⁴ Of these bishops, some acted through a blind scruple of obedience to ecclesiastical power; others through political cowardice; and others, of foreign origin and gained over beforehand by the foreign pretender, were only playing the part for which they had been paid either in money or in promises. However, they did not prevail: the majority of the national council made choice of a Saxon; but of him who was the least fit to command in circumstances of difficulty, the young

¹ *Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

² *Guill. Pictav., p. 205. Will. Malmesb., p. 102.*

³ *Chron. Sax. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

⁴ *Episcopos non habebant assertores. Will. Malmesb., p. 102. Fordun, p. 698.*

nephew of Edward. After much hesitation, which occasioned a loss of time, then so precious, in useless disputes,¹ he was proclaimed king. The divided minds of the people were not united by his accession. Edwin and Morkar, who had promised to put themselves at the head of the troops assembled in London, retracted their promise, and retired into their governments of the north, taking with them the soldiers of those countries, who were entirely devoted to them. They entertained the vain hope of defending the northern provinces separately from the rest of England. Their departure weakened and discouraged those who remained in London with the new king; and that depression of spirit, which is the fruit of civil discord, succeeded the first ebullition of national will and enthusiasm excited by the foreign invasion.²

Meanwhile, the Norman troops were approaching at several points; and traversing in various directions the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, plundering and burning the towns and villages, and butchering the men whether with arms or without.³ Five hundred horse advanced as far as the southern suburb of London, engaged a body of Saxons who opposed them, and in their retreat burned all the buildings on the right bank of the Thames.⁴ William, judging from this experiment that the citizens had not yet entirely renounced the intention of defending themselves, instead of approaching and laying siege to the town, went towards the west, and passed the Thames at Wallingford, in the province of Berks. He found an entrenched camp at this place; and left some troops in it, to intercept any succours that might come from the western provinces: then directing his course towards the north-east, he himself encamped at Berkhamstead, in the province of Hertford, to interrupt in like manner all communication between London and the north, and to prevent the return of the sons of Alfgar, in case that they repented of their defection.⁵ By this stratagem, the great Saxon city was invested on all sides. Numerous foraging parties ravaged its environs and stopped its supplies, without coming to any decisive engagement. The men of London more than once

¹ De die in diem tardius et deterius. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

² Ita Angli qui, in unam coeuntes sententiam, potuissent patriæ reformari ruinam. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 102.

³ Villas cremare hominesque interficere non cessabat. *Ibid.*

⁴ Cremantes quidquid ædificiorum citra flumen invenere. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 205. *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 503.

⁵ *Ibid.*

fought the Normans; but they gradually became weary, and were overcome, not so much by the strength of the enemy, as by the dread of famine and the disheartening reflection that they were cut off from all succour.¹ King Edgar, the archbishops Stigand and Eldred, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, several other ecclesiastics and chiefs of high rank, and the principal citizens of the place, in obedience to necessity (says a cotemporary Saxon chronicle), went to the Norman camp at Berkhamstead, and, to the misfortune of their country, submitted to the foreigner.² They took oaths of peace and fidelity to him, gave him hostages; and the foreigner, in return, promised them mildness and clemency. He then set forward towards London; and, regardless of his promise, allowed all in the way to be ravaged and burned.³

On the road from Berkhamstead to London, there was a rich monastery called St. Alban's Abbey, built near the extensive ruins of an ancient Roman municipal city.⁴ On approaching the lands of this convent, William observed with surprise large masses of wood felled and disposed so as to interrupt his passage or render it difficult. He caused the Abbot of St. Alban's, named Frithric, to be brought before him. "Why," demanded the conqueror, "hast thou cut down thy woods in this manner?" "I have done my duty," answered the Saxon monk; "and if all of my order had done the same, as they might and ought to have done, perhaps thou wouldst not have penetrated so far into our country."⁵ William did not go to London; but stopped at the distance of a few miles from it, and sent forward a strong detachment of soldiers with instructions to build a fortress for his residence⁶ in the centre of the town. While this work was proceeding with rapidity, the Norman council of war were discussing in the camp near London the means of promptly completing the conquest so successfully begun.⁷ The familiar friends of William said, that, in order to render the people of

¹ Videntes demum se diutius stare non posse. *Guillelm. Gemeticensis*, p. 288.

² Se submiserunt propter necessitatem, quod maximum erat in damnum factum. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

³ Promisit quod fidus dominus esset, attamen vastaverunt omne quod pertransibant. *Ibid.* *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 450.

⁴ Verulamium.

⁵ *Chron. Jo. Speed*, p. 436.

⁶ Præmisit Londoniam qui munitionem in ipsa construerent urbe, moraturus interim per vicina. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 205.

⁷ Consulens comitatos e Normannia. *Ibid.*

the yet unconquered provinces less disposed to resistance, the chief of the conquest must, previously to any ulterior invasion, take the title of king of the English.¹ This proposal was, doubtless, the most agreeable to the Duke of Normandy; but, with his accustomed circumspection, he feigned indifference to it, and dissimulated his desire, lest he should appear to the companions of his fortunes too ambitious of a dignity which was to raise him above themselves as well as above the vanquished, and destroy the sort of equality and military fraternity which existed in the camp between them and their chief. William made modest excuses, and requested that there might at least be a little delay, saying that he had not come to England to make his own fortune, but that of the whole Norman people; moreover, that if it were God's pleasure that he should become king, the time for taking the title had not yet arrived, as there were yet too many men and too many provinces to be subdued.²

A majority of the captains of Norman birth was inclined to interpret these hypocritical scruples by the letter, and to decide that the time to make a king was really not yet arrived; when one of the chiefs of the auxiliary bands, named Aimery de Thouars, a Poictouan, who had less cause to be jealous of William's royalty than the inhabitants of Normandy, addressed them in a high tone, saying, in the style of a flatterer and a hired soldier, "It is an excess of modesty to ask fighting-men, whether they choose that their lord shall be a king: soldiers are not called upon to take part in discussions of this nature: besides our debates only serve to retard that which we all wish to see accomplished without any delay."³ Those among the Normans who, after the feigned excuses of William, would have ventured to be of the same mind with their duke, were quite of a contrary opinion as soon as the Poictouan had spoken, lest they should appear less faithful and devoted to the common chief. They unanimously resolved that, before the conquest was pushed any further, Duke William should cause himself to be crowned King of England by the small number of Saxons whom he had succeeded in terrifying and corrupting.

Christmas-day, which was then approaching, was fixed for

¹ Rebellem quemque minus ausurum, facilius conterendum. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 205.

² Res adhuc turbidas esse, rebellare nonnullos. *Ibid.*

³ Ad hujusmodi disceptationem raro aut nunquam milites accierunt. . . . Non est diu trahendum nostra deliberatione quod. . . . *Ibid.*

the ceremony. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, who had taken the oath of peace to the conqueror in his camp at Berkhamstead, was invited to come and lay his hands upon him and place the crown on his head, according to the ancient custom of the church of the western monastery—in Saxon *West-mynster*, near London. Stigand refused to go and give his benediction to a man who was stained with human blood and an invader of the rights of others.¹ But Eldred, Archbishop of York, being (say the old historians²) more circumspect and better advised, and, comprehending that it was necessary to conform to the times, and not to go against the order of God, who raises up all powers,³ consented to perform this office for the menacing foreigner.⁴ The church in the west was prepared and decorated as in former days, when, with the free suffrages of the best men of England,⁵ the king of their choice came and presented himself, there to receive the investment of the power which they had confided to him. But this previous election, without which the pretension to royalty could be no other than a vain mockery—a bitter insult on the part of the strongest—did not take place in the case of the Norman chief. He quitted his camp of foreigners, and proceeded between their triple files to the monastery, where his arrival was awaited by some Saxons who were overcome by their fears, or at most but affected a calm demeanour and an air of liberty in their cowardly and servile office. All the avenues leading to the church, the streets and openings of the suburb, were lined with horsemen,⁶ who, according to ancient accounts, were to keep down the rebels and ensure the safety of those whose ministry called them into the interior of the temple.⁷ Two hundred and sixty chiefs of war, the staff of the conquering army, entered it with their duke.⁸

When the ceremony opened, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances,

¹ Ille vero cruento viro et alieni juris invasori manus imponere recusavit. *Guill. Neubrigensis Hist. ed. Hearn.*, p. 3. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 961. *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 6. *Chron. Th. Wilkes*, p. 21.

² Vir bonus et prudens. *Chron. Walteri Hemingsford.*, p. 457.

³ Acutius intelligens cedendum esse tempori, et divinæ nequaquam resistendum ordinationi. *Ibid. Guill. Neubrig.*, p. 3.

⁴ Spirantem adhuc minarum et cædis in populum. *Ibid.*

⁵ Tha bestan-menn. *Chron. Saxon.*, *passim*.

⁶ Cerca monasterium in armis et equis præsidio dispositi. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 206.

⁷ Ne quid doli et seditionis oriretur. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 503.

⁸ *Monastic. Anglican.*

asked the Normans, in French, if they were all of opinion that their general should take the title of king of the English; and at the same time, the Archbishop of York asked the English, in Saxon, if they would have the Norman for their king. Such loud acclamations were then raised in the church, that they resounded beyond its gates, in the ears of the horsemen who filled the neighbouring streets. They took this confused noise for a cry of alarm; and, in pursuance of their secret orders, immediately set fire to the houses.¹ Many of them galloped towards the church; and, at the sight of their drawn swords and the flames of the conflagration, all the attendants, Norman as well as Saxon,² dispersed, the latter hastening to extinguish the fire, and the former to plunder during the disorder.³ The ceremony was suspended by this unforeseen tumult; and there remained to finish it only the duke, Archbishop Eldred, and a few priests of both nations. These men, every one of them trembling, received from him whom they called king, and who trembled like themselves, the oath to treat the Anglo-Saxon people as well as they had been treated by the best of the kings whom they had elected in former times.⁴

From that very day, the city of London had cause to know the value of such an oath from the mouth of a conquering foreigner. An enormous war tribute was imposed on the citizens, and their hostages were imprisoned.⁵ William, who could not himself sincerely believe that the benediction of Eldred and the acclamations of a few cowards had made him a king of England in the lawful sense of the word, feeling embarrassed in determining the style of his manifestoes, sometimes falsely called himself king by hereditary succession, and sometimes, with perfect frankness, king by the edge of the sword.⁶ But if he hesitated in his designations, he did not hesitate in his acts; he put himself in his proper place by the attitude of hostility and distrust which he assumed towards the people. He did not yet venture into the middle of London,

¹ Flammam ædibus imprudenter injecerunt. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 206.

² Multitudo virorum ac mulierum celeriter basilica egressa est. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 503.

³ Ut in perturbatione sibi prædas diriperent. *Ibid.*

⁴ Trepidantes super regem vehementer trementem officium vix peregerunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 503.

⁵ Tributum imposuit hominibus valde sævum. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*

⁶ Ego Willelmus rex hæreditario jure factus. In ore gladii regnum adeptus sum Anglorum. *Hickesii Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium.*

notwithstanding his garrisons and the indented entrenchments which had been hastily constructed for him ; but went into the neighbouring country, to wait until his engineers had given greater solidity to these works, and laid the foundations of two other forts, to repress (says a Norman author) the changeable spirit of a population too numerous and too spirited.¹

During the time which the king passed, seven miles from London, at a place called Barking, the two Saxon chiefs, whose fatal retreat had caused the surrender of the great town, terrified at the new power which the possession of London and the title of king gave to the invader, came from the north to take the same oath to him which the English chiefs were accustomed to take to their ancient kings.² However, the submission of Edwin and Morkar did not bring with it that of the provinces which they had governed ; and the Norman army did not advance to occupy those provinces, but remained concentrated round London and on the southern and eastern coasts nearest to Gaul. It was at that time almost entirely occupied in sharing the spoils of the invaded territory. Commissions were sent through the whole extent of country in which the army had left garrisons. They made an exact inventory of all kinds of property, public and private, registering them with great care and minuteness ; for, even in those remote times, the Norman nation, as it has since been, was lavish of writings, *acts*, and *procès-verbaux*.³

Inquiry was made into the names of all the English who had died in battle, or who had survived their defeats, or whom their domestic affairs had, contrary to their desire, kept from obeying the call of their country. All the possessions of these three classes of men, whether in lands, movables, or revenues, were seized.⁴ The children of the first were declared disinherited for ever. The second were likewise permanently dispossessed, and (say the Norman authors) they themselves were quite sensible that their lives were all which they ought to expect at the hands of the enemy.⁵ Lastly, those men who had not taken part in any battle were also stripped of every-

¹ Contra mobilitatem ingentis et feri populi. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 208.

² Ibi ad obsequium ejus venerunt. *Ibid.*

³ Cum rex ipse regisque procures loca nova perlustrarunt facta est inquisitio diligens. *Dialogus de Scaccario*, in *notis ad Math. Paris.*

⁴ Spes omnis terrarum et fundorum atque reddituum præclusa est. *Dialogus de Scaccario*.

⁵ Magnum namque reputabant frui vitæ beneficio sub inimicis. *Ibid.*

thing, for having intended to fight; but, by a special favour and clemency, they were permitted to hope that, after many years of obedience and devotion to the foreign power, not they, but their children—their children only, might obtain from the bounty of the new masters some portion of the paternal inheritance.¹ Such was the law of the Conquest, according to the unsuspecting testimony of one of the sons of the conquerors.²

The immense produce of this universal spoliation was the pay of the adventurers who had enlisted under the standard of the Norman duke. In the first place, their chief, the new king of the English, kept as his own share all the treasure of the ancient kings, the gold plate and ornaments in the churches, and everything rare and precious that could be found in the shops.³ William sent a part of these riches to Pope Alexander, together with Harold's standard, in return for the blessed standard which had triumphed at Hastings;⁴ and all the churches abroad in which psalms had been sung and tapers burned for the success of the invasion, received in recompense crosses, vases, or gold stuffs.⁵ When the king and the priests had taken their share, the soldiers had theirs, according to their rank and the conditions of their engagement. Those who, at the camp on the Dive, had done homage to William for lands which were then to be conquered, received those of the dispossessed English.⁶ The captains had extensive domains, castles, and whole towns; and the meaner vassals had smaller portions.⁷ Some took their pay in money; others had stipulated beforehand for Saxon women; and, says the Norman chronicle, William caused them to take in marriage noble ladies inheriting large fortunes, whose husbands had been slain in the battle. One alone amongst all the warriors in the conqueror's train claimed neither lands, nor gold, nor

¹ Cum tractu temporis devotis obsequiis gratiam dominorum possedissent, sine spe successionis filii tantum (pro voluntate dominorum) possidere cœperunt. *Dialogus de Scaccario*.

² *Ricardus Nigellus*, Richard Le-noir or Noirot, Bishop of Ely in the twelfth century.

³ *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 206.

⁴ Romanæ ecclesiæ Sti. Petri pecuniam in auro atque argento ampliorem quam dictu credibile sit. *Ibid.*

⁵ Mille ecclesiis Franciæ. *Ibid.*

⁶ *Chronique de Normandie, inter Scriptores Francic.*, tom. xiii.

⁷ Dona chastels, dona citez,

Dona terres as vavasors.—*Wace, Roman de Rou.*

The word *vassal* is synonymous with *soldier* or *man-at-arms*. *Hardi et noble vassal. Vassaument for bravement.*

women; and would accept no part of the spoils of the vanquished: he was named Guilbert son of Richard. He said that he had accompanied his lord into England, because such was his duty; that he was not to be tempted by stolen property, but would return into Normandy to live on his own patrimony, which, though small, was lawful, and, content with his own portion, would take nothing away from others.¹

The conqueror passed the last months of the winter which terminated the year 1066 in making a sort of military progress through such of the provinces as were then invaded. It is hard to determine with exactness the number of these provinces, and the extent of country which the foreign troops occupied and ranged in freely. However, by carefully examining the accounts of cotemporaries, we find negative proofs at least that the Normans had not yet penetrated towards the north-east further than the rivers whose mouths form the bay of Boston, nor to the south-west beyond the hills which bound the province of Dorset. The town of Oxford, situated nearly at an equal distance from these two opposite points, in a right line between them, had not yet surrendered; but perhaps this ideal frontier had been passed, either to the north or to the south of Oxford. It is equally difficult to affirm or to deny it; or to fix the limit at any precise moment of a constantly extending invasion.

All that portion of territory occupied in reality by William's garrisons, and possessed by him otherwise than nominally and by virtue of his title of king, was in a short time crowded with citadels and fortified castles.² All the native population within it were disarmed, and compelled to swear obedience and fidelity to the new chief imposed on them by the lance and the sword. They swore; but they did not believe in their hearts that the foreigner was the lawful King of England; and in their eyes young Edgar was still the true king, though deposed and a captive. The monks of the Convent of Peterborough, in the province of Northampton, gave a remarkable proof of this. Having lost their abbot Leofric on his return from the battle of Hastings, they chose their prior named Brand, to succeed him; and, as it was their custom to obtain the approbation of the election of the chiefs of their convent

¹ De rapina quicquam possidere noluit, suis contentus, aliena respuit. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 606.

² Ædificaverunt castella passim per hanc regionem. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, *Ed. Lye.*

by the chief of the country, they sent Brand to Edgar. They took this step (says the chronicle of the monastery) because all the inhabitants of the country thought that Edgar would again become king.¹ The rumour of this soon reached the ears of William, and his anger was raised to the utmost. "From that day forward," says the cotemporary narrator, "every affliction—every evil has fallen upon our house. May God vouchsafe to take pity on it!"²

This prayer of a monk might well, at that time, be the prayer of every Englishman in the conquered provinces; for each had an ample portion of grief and misery: that of the men was indigence and servitude; that of the women, insults and violence more cruel than all beside. Such as were not taken *par mariage*, were taken *par amours*, as the conquerors expressed it, and were the sport of the foreign soldiers, the lowest and meanest of whom was lord and master in the house of the conquered. "Ignoble squires, impure vagabonds," say the cotemporary writers, "disposed at their pleasure of young women of the best families, leaving them to weep and wish for death."³ Frantic wretches! they wondered at their own acts; and went mad with pride and astonishment at finding themselves so powerful, and having servants with greater wealth than their fathers had ever possessed.⁴ Whatever they had the will, they believed they had the right, to do: they shed blood in wantonness; they snatched the last morsel of bread from the mouths of the unfortunate; they seized everything—money, goods, and land. . . ."⁵

Such was the yoke which the English race successively received, as the standard of the three lions advanced over their fields and was planted in their towns. But this fate, which was everywhere equally hard, assumed various appearances according to the diversity of places. The towns suffered in a different manner from the country; and each town or district had in its grievances something peculiar to itself. The common stock of misery was surrounded (if the expression

¹ Hujus enim regionis incolæ arbitrabantur eum regem fore. *Chron. Sax. Gibson*, p. 173.

² God hit gemietse! *Ibid.*

³ Nobiles puellæ despicabilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ dedecus suum plorabant. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 523.

⁴ Unde, sibi tanta potestas emanasset, ut clientes ditiores haberent quam eorum in Neustria fuerant parentes. *Ibid.*

⁵ A baccis miserorum cibos abstrahentes. *Will. Malmesb.*

may be allowed) by that variety of forms, that multiplicity of accidents, which human affairs constantly present, and which the historian should faithfully recount. At Pevensey, for instance (beginning with the first corner of land on which the foreigner set foot), the Norman soldiers shared amongst them the houses of the vanquished.¹ In other places, the inhabitants themselves were counted and distributed: in the town of Lewes, according to a certain authentic register,² King William took sixty of the townsmen paying an annual rent of thirty-nine sous; one Asselin had three townsmen paying a rent of only four sous; and Guillaume de Caën had two paying two sous only;—these are the words of the roll.³ In the town of Arundel, an Englishman of twelve-pence (so says the roll) was reserved for the monks of St. Martin of Battle.⁴

The city of Dover, half consumed by fire, was given to Eudes, Bishop of Bayeux, who, say the old acts, could not calculate its exact value, on account of the devastation.⁵ He distributed the houses amongst his warriors and followers. Raoul de Courbespine received three of them together with a poor woman's field;⁶ Guillaume son of Geoffry had also three, together with the old town-house or common-hall.⁷ Near Colchester, in the province of Essex, Geoffroy de Mandeville seized forty manors and forty habitations surrounded by cultivated lands;⁸ fourteen Saxon proprietors were dispossessed by Ingelry, and thirty by one Guillaume: one rich Englishman put himself, for security, in the power of the Norman Gaultier, who received him as a tributary;⁹ another Englishman became a *serf-de-corps* on the soil of his own field.¹⁰

In the province of Suffolk, a Norman chief appropriated to himself the lands of a Saxon woman named Edith the Fair,¹¹ perhaps the same swan-necked Edith who had been mistress

¹ *Domesday-book*, vol. i. p. 25.

² *Ibid.*

³ Vits. de Cahainges, 11 burgenses de 11 sol. *Ibid.*

⁴ Sès. Martinus, 1 burgensem de 12 den. *Ibid.*

⁵ Præitium ejus non potuit computari, quantum valebat. *Extracta e D. B.*, apud *Scriptores* ed. à Gale, p. 759.

⁶ *Domesday-book*, vol. i. p. 9.

⁷ Vitt. Fitz. Ganfredi III. in quibus erat Gihalla burgensium. *Extracta à Gale*, p. 759.

⁸ *Dugdale's Baronage*.

⁹ Submisit se in manu Walterii, pro defensione sui. *Domesday-book*, vol. ii. p. 36.

¹⁰ Quidam liber homo qui modo effectus est unus de villanis. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 1.

¹¹ Edeva Faira. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 285.

to Harold. The city of Norwich was reserved entire as the conqueror's private domain : it had paid to the Saxon kings a tax of thirty livres twenty sols ; but William exacted annually seventy livres, a valuable horse, a hundred livres for his wife, and moreover twenty livres for the salary of the officer who commanded there in his name.¹ A strong citadel was built in the heart of this town inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Danes ; for the conquerors were fearful of its asking and receiving succour from the men of Denmark, who were frequently cruising near the coast.² In the city of Dorchester, which in Edward's time had contained a hundred and seventy-two houses, there were now only eighty-eight ; the rest were a heap of ruins. At Warham, out of a hundred and thirteen houses, sixty-two had been likewise destroyed.³ At Bridport twenty had disappeared in the same manner ; and the misery of the inhabitants was such, that more than twenty years afterwards not a single house had been rebuilt.⁴ The Isle of Wight, near the southern coast, was invaded by Guillaume son of Osbert—seneschal to the Norman duke, who added it to his extensive domains in England, and transmitted it to his son, and afterwards to the son of his nephew, Baudoin, called in Normandy Bandoin de Riviers, and in England Baudoin of the Island.⁵

Near Winchester, in the province of Hants, was the Abbey of Hida, the head of which, accompanied by twelve of his monks and twenty men-at-arms, had gone to the battle of Hastings and had not returned.⁶ The vengeance with which the conqueror visited this monastery was mixed with a sort of pleasantry : he took from the lands of the convent twelve times the amount of the ordinary pay of one of his armed men—or, in the language of the time, twelve *knight's fees*, as an atonement for the crime of the monks who had fought against him ; and a captain's pay, or *baron's fee*, for the abbot who had put himself at their head.⁷ Another fact which may be cited as one of the *joyeusetés* of the conquest is, that a female juggler,

¹ Modo reddit LXX lib. pensas regi, et C. solidos de gersuma reginæ, et asturconem, et XX libras blancas comiti. *Ibid. Spelmani Gloss.*

² Danos in auxilium citius recipere potest. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 208.

³ *Domesday-book.*

⁴ *Extracta à Gale*, p. 764.

⁵ Insulam Vectam conquisivit. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 905.

⁶ See Book III. p. 166.

⁷ Pro abbate baroniam unam, et pro singulis monachis qui cum abbate in bellum processerant singula feoda militum. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 210.

named Adeline, figures on the rolls, made out for the partition of the same province, as having received fee and salary from Roger, one of the Norman counts.¹

In the province of Hertford, an Englishman had bought back his land by the payment of nine ounces of gold ;² nevertheless, to escape a violent dispossession, he was obliged to become tributary to a soldier named Vigot.³ Three Saxon warriors, Thurnot, Waltheof, and Thunnan, associated together as brethren in arms, possessed a manor near St. Alban's, which they had received from the chief of the abbey, on condition of their defending it by the sword, if necessary. They faithfully discharged this engagement by resisting the Norman invaders ; but, being overpowered by numbers, and compelled to fly, they abandoned their domain. This domain then fell to the share of Robert de Toënes, one of those Norman knights who, from their bearing a swan upon their escutcheons, were called soldiers of the swan.⁴ But Robert and his men soon had to defend their newly acquired property against the three Saxons, who, at the head of a party of their friends, suddenly attacked them, and burned their own houses which the foreigner inhabited : they fought until, being surrounded by their more numerous enemies, they were taken, and hanged as rebels, according to the law of the Conquest.⁵

These facts, taken indiscriminately from among thousands of others which it would be tedious to enumerate, are sufficient to give the reader an idea of the various deplorable scenes which were exhibited at the same time in several of the southern and eastern provinces of England, while the conqueror was installing himself in the tower of London. This fortress, built at one of the angles of the city wall, on the eastern side, near the Thames, received the name of Palatine Tower, taken from an old Roman title, which William bore in Normandy conjointly with that of duke or count. Two other fortresses, built on the western side, and confided to the care of the Normans Baynard and Gilbert Montfichet, took the name of their respective keepers.⁶ The banner of the three lions was

¹ Et Adelina jocularitrix una virgula quam Rog. comes dedit ei. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 38.

² Terram suam emit a W. rege, novem uncias auri. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Ab illis famosis militibus qui a cycni nomine intitulabantur. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbatis Sti. Albani*, p. 46.

⁵ Capti perierunt. *Ibid.*

⁶ *Castellum Baynardi*, Baynard's Castle. *Maitland's History of London*.

hoisted on William's donjon, and those of Baynard and Montfichet were displayed on the two others; but these captains had both sworn to lower their own flags and raise that of William, their chief, their duke, their lord, at his command, given in anger or without anger, for crime or for no crime, and supported by great force or by little force—as the forms of the age are worded.¹ Before making, to the sound of trumpets, their first entry into their towers, and filling them with their serving-men, they had placed their hands in those of the Norman king, and acknowledged themselves to be his men of faith and service. They had promised by this oath to suffer as a just and lawful sentence the decree of dispossession which would be passed against them, if, at any future time, they ranged themselves against their lord—if they voluntarily separated their cause from his cause, their power from his power, their flag from his flag.

What they swore to the chief of the Conquest others in like manner swore to them, and others again took to these others the same oath of fidelity and homage. Thus the body of the conquerors, though scattered and distributed over the territory of the vanquished, was still united by one great chain of duty, and kept the same order as on board the transports, or behind the redoubts at Hastings. The subaltern owed faith and service to his military superior; the man who had received lands from another, owed him faith and service in return. On this condition, those who had shared the most in the various profits or plunders of the invasion, gave or lent a part of their superfluity in fief to those who had been less fortunate. The captains gave to the simple men-at-arms, or the *barons* to the *knights*; the men-at-arms gave to their *esquires*, or to those who attended them in battle, whether on horseback or on foot; the *esquires* and the *servants-at-arms* gave to their own *servants*; ² and generally, the rich gave to the poor: but the poor soon became rich by the profits of the Conquest. Thus among those classes of combatants—those orders, those military ranks which were distinguished by the language of the time,³ there were great fluctuations; because the chances of war carried men rapidly from the lowest grades to the highest.

¹ *Ducange, Notes sur Joinville.*

² *Vasleti*; *valecti*; *servientes ad arma*. *Servientes*—in the vulgar tongue, *serjeants*.

³ *Comte, baron, chivaler, comte baron et vavasor. Ancient Norman poetry.*

The man who had passed the sea with the quilted cassock and black wooden bow of the foot-soldier, now appeared, to the astonished eyes of the new recruits who had come after him, mounted on a war-horse and bearing the military baldrick. He, who had crossed the sea a poor knight, soon lifted his banner (as it was then expressed), and commanded a company, whose rallying cry was his own name. The herdsmen of Normandy and the weavers of Flanders, with a little courage and good fortune, soon became in England men of consequence—illustrious barons; and their names, ignoble and unhonoured on one shore of the strait, were glorious on the other.

Would you know, says an old roll in the French language, what are the names of the great men who came over the sea with the conqueror—with Guillaume Bâtard *a la grande vigueur*?¹ Here are their surnames as we find them written; but without their Christian names being prefixed, for they are often wanting and often changed: they are Mandeville and Dandeville, Oufreville and Domfreville, Bouteville and Estouteville, Mohun and Bohun, Biset and Basset, Malin and Malvoisin. . . . The crowd of names that follow appear in the same arrangement of rude versification, so as to assist the memory by the rhyme and alliteration. Several lists of the same kind, and disposed with the same art, have been handed down to the present day, having been formerly found inscribed on large sheets of vellum in the archives of the churches, and decorated with the title of *livre* or *livret des conquérans*.² In one of these lists, the surnames are seen ranged in groups of three: Bastard, Brassard, Baynard; Bigot, Bagot, Talbot; Toret, Trivet, Bouet; Lucy, Lacy, Percy. . . .³ Another catalogue of the conquerors of England, kept for a long time in the treasury of Battle Abbey, contained names of a singularly low and fantastic formation, such as Bonvilain and Boutevilain, Trousselot and Troussebout, L'Engayne and Longue-épée, Oeil-de-bœuf and Front-de-bœuf.⁴ And several authentic acts designate as Norman knights in England one *Guillaume le charretier*, one *Hugues le tailleur*, one *Guillaume*

¹ Les nons des grantz delà la mer
Ke vindrent od le conquerour
William bastard de graunt vigour.

Jo. Brompton. Chron., p. 963.

² Tous les grants seignors après nommés comme il est escrit en le livre des conquerors. *Lelandi Collectanea*, p. 202.

³ *Hearne, Coll. Script. Angl.*

⁴ *Collection des Historiens de Normandie*, p. 1023.

le tambour; ¹ and among the surnames of this knighthood, gathered together from every corner of Gaul, we find a great number of names belonging simply to towns and provinces—as St. Quentin, St. Maur, St. Denis, St. Malo, Tournay, Verdun, Fismes, Chalons,² Chaunes, Etampes, Rochefort, La Rochelle, Cahors,³ Champagne, Gascogne. Such were the men who brought into England the titles of *nobleman* and *gentleman*, and, by force of arms, implanted them for themselves and their descendants.⁴

The servants of the Norman man-at-arms—his lance-bearer, his esquire, were gentlemen; they were men of consequence and consideration among those Saxons who had themselves once enjoyed wealth and distinction, but now crouched beneath the sword of the foreigner, was expelled from the home of his fathers, and had not where to lay his head.⁵ This natural and general nobility of all the conquerors increased in the same ratio as the authority or personal importance of each. After the nobility of the Norman king, the one supreme, came that of the governor of a province, called in the Norman language *comte*; after the nobility of the *comte* came that of his lieutenant, called *vice-comte* or *vicomte*; then came that of the men-at-arms, according to their ranks and degrees—barons, knights, esquires, men of high or petty service, noble in various degrees, but all noble by right of their common victory and their foreign birth.

Before marching to the conquest of the northern and western provinces, William, with his accustomed foresight, resolved to deposit the booty, which he had made in the provinces already conquered, in a place of safety; and it appeared to him that his newly acquired riches would be nowhere more secure than in his own country. Before he set sail for Normandy, he entrusted the lieutenancy of his kingly power to his brother Eudes and William son of Osbert. With these two viceroys were joined other chiefs of note, to aid and advise them—Hugues de Grantmesnil, Hugues de Montfort, Gaultier Giffard, and Guillaume de Garonne.⁶ William went to Pevensey,

¹ *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. ii.

² Become, by corruption, *Chaloner*.

³ Become, by corruption, *Rochford*, *Rokeby*, *Chaworth*, &c. Other names really French have been disfigured in various ways; as *De la Haye*, *Hay*; *De la Zouche*, *Zouch*; *Du-Saut-du-Chevreau*, *Sacheverell*, &c.

⁴ These two words, now English, are purely of Norman extraction, and have no synonym in the old English language.

⁵ *Non habentes ubi reclinarent caput.* *Forduni Historia*, p. 698.

⁶ *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 209.

wishing to embark at the very place where he had landed six months before. Several vessels were in waiting for him, adorned with white sails and streamers, in token of joy and triumph.¹ A great number of English had repaired thither by his order, to pass the strait with him. Among them were King Edgar, Archbishop Stigand, Fritheric Abbot of St. Alban's, the two brothers Edwin and Morkar, and Waltheof son of Siward—who had not been able to fight at Hastings. These, and many others whom the conqueror took with him, were to serve as hostages for the tranquillity of the English during his absence; besides, he hoped that, when thus deprived of its most powerful and popular chiefs, the nation would have less courage to rise up against its new masters.²

In the port, where he had for the first time set his feet on English ground, the conqueror distributed presents of every kind to such of his warriors as were about to repass the sea with him, in order (says a Norman writer) that no one of them on his return might have it in his power to say that he had not gained by the conquest.³ William, according to the same author, who was his chaplain and his biographer, carried with him into Normandy more gold and silver than had ever before been seen in all Gaul.⁴ The monasteries and the clergy of the churches vied with each other in entertaining the victor of the English; and, says the historian, neither monks nor priests went without their reward.⁵ William gave them books curiously ornamented with gold; and, in particular, embroidered stuffs, which were displayed in their churches, where they became the admiration of travellers.⁶ It appears that in those times embroidery in gold with the needle was an art in which the English women excelled. The navigation of the country, which was already very extensive, also brought to it many costly articles of merchandise unknown in the north of Gaul.⁷ A relative of the King of France, named Raoul or Roulfe, came with a numerous train to the court held by William at

¹ More veterum albis velis adornatæ. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 209.

² Ut obsides quorum salus . . . ut gens tota minus ad rebellionem valeret spoliata principibus. *Ibid.*

³ Ut opimum fructum victoriæ secum omnes percepisse gauderent. *Ibid.*

⁴ Quantum ex ditione trium Galliarum colligeretur. *Ibid.*

⁵ Quam pietatem ipse confestim lucro multiplici recompensavit. *Ibid.*

p. 211.

⁶ Voluptuosum est ea perspectare hospitibus maximis. *Ibid.*

⁷ Anglicæ nationis fæminæ multum acu et auri textura, viri egregie in omni valent artificio. Inferunt et negotiatores qui longinquas regiones adeunt. *Ibid.*

the time of the paschal solemnity. The French, no less than the Normans, contemplated with mixed curiosity and surprise the sculptured vessels of silver and gold brought from England, and especially the drinking vessels of the Saxons, made of large buffalo horns and tipped with metal at the two extremities.¹ They wondered at the beauty and the long flowing hair of the young English who were captives or hostages in the hands of the Norman.² "They remarked," says the historian, "these things and many others equally new to them, in order that they might relate them in their own country."³

While this festival pomp was displayed on one side of the strait, the insolence of the conquerors was severely felt by the conquered nation on the other. The foreign chiefs, who governed the provinces or commanded the fortresses, emulated one another in oppressing the natives, of all classes, by extortion, tyranny, and outrage. Bishop Eudes and the son of Osbert, inflated with their new power, despised the complaints of the vanquished and refused them all justice.⁴ When their armed men plundered the houses or violated the women, they lent them the aid of their authority, and crushed the unfortunate objects of these injuries, if they dared to groan aloud.⁵ The excess of the Norman tyranny drove the English, especially those of the eastern coast, to attempt a project of deliverance with foreign assistance. Eustache, Count of Boulogne, the same who in Edward's reign had caused so much tumult and excited so much hatred, was at variance and enmity with William, who kept his son a prisoner. Eustache was renowned for his military skill; and his ancient relationship to King Edward now caused him to be regarded by the Saxon people, less disdainful in their misfortunes, almost as a natural ally.⁶

The inhabitants of Kent sent a message to Eustache, and promised to aid him in seizing Dover, if he would make a descent and assist them against the Normans. Eustache con-

¹ Curiosi hi cum Normannis cernebant vasa aurea et argentea . . . aut cornibus bubalinis. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 211.

² Crinigeros alumnos plagæ aquilonalis . . . nec enim puellari venustati cedebant. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Nimia cervicositate tuebant et clamores Anglorum despiciebant. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 507.

⁵ Armigeros suos immodicas prædas et incestos raptus facientes, vi tuebantur. *Ibid.* p. 508.

⁶ Pridem inimicissimus. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 212. See Book III. p. 119, and following.

sented; and, by favour of a dark night, landed near Dover roads. All the Saxons of the neighbouring country rose in arms. Eudes de Bayeux and Hugues de Montfort, the two commanders of the town, were gone beyond the Thames, with a party of their soldiers. If the siege could have lasted but for two days, the people of the interior provinces would have advanced in great numbers and joined the besiegers:¹ but Eustache and his men made an ill-timed attempt to take the castle by surprise; they met with an unexpected resistance from the Normans, and were discouraged by this single effort. A false report of the approach of Eudes, who was said to be returning with the great body of his troops, filled them with terror. Eustache caused a retreat to be sounded; his men ran in precipitate disorder toward their vessels: and the Norman garrison, seeing them dispersed, quitted the town to pursue them; and many of them, in their flight, fell from the steep rocks on which Dover is situated. The count was saved only by the swiftness of his horse; and the Saxon insurgents reached their homes by circuitous roads.² Such was the issue of the first attempt made in England to overthrow the Norman dominion. The man of Boulogne was soon afterwards reconciled to the man of Normandy; and, forgetting his allies of a day, courted the wealth and honours which their enemy had at his disposal.³

In the province of Hereford, beyond the great chain of mountains which had formerly protected the independence of the old Britons, and might still serve as a rampart to that of the Angles, there dwelt, before the invasion, on lands which he had received from the munificence of King Edward, a Norman named Richard son of Scrob. He was one of those men whom the Saxons excepted in the sentence of banishment passed in the year 1052, upon all Normans then living in England. In return for this benefit, the son of Scrob, on William's disembarkation, became the leader of the intrigues for the conquest, established a correspondence with the invaders, and put himself at the head of some bodies of soldiers, natives of Gaul, who had remained since Edward's reign in the castles about Hereford. He fortified himself

¹ Auctor hostium numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, si biduana obsidio fieret. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 508.

² Angli per diverticula plura evaserunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 508. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 212.

³ *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 212.

with them in these castles; and, making frequent sallies, undertook to force the neighbouring towns and villages to submit to the conquering king: but (says an old account) the population of the West refused to submit to the conquest;¹ and, led by young Edric, son of Alfric, rose to repel the attack of the son of Scrob and his armed men.

The young Saxon chief had the art to interest in his cause several chiefs of the Welsh tribes, which until then had been hostile to the inhabitants of England.² Thus their terror of the Normans reconciled for the first time the Cambrians and the Teutones of Britain, doing that which in other times the irruption of the Danish pagans had not been sufficient to do. Supported by the succours from Wales, Edric acted successfully on the offensive against the son of Scrob and his soldiers, whom the chronicles of the times call *castellans* of Hereford.³ Three months after William's departure from Normandy, he drove them from the territory which they occupied, plundered their cantonments, and liberated the whole country bordering on the river Lugg.⁴ To the south of this tract—on the coasts of the long gulf which receives the waters of the Severn, and to the north of it, on the territory adjacent to the mountains, there were, at that time, neither military posts established nor fortified castles built or possessed by the Normans. The conquest (if we may use the expression) had not yet reached there; its laws did not reign, its king was not recognised there, any more than in the whole northern part of England from the bay of Boston to the Tweed.

On the other side, the enemy's parties traversed the open country without opposition; but there were many walled towns which had not yet surrendered; and, even in that part of the country where the invasion seemed to be accomplished in all its rigour, the conquerors were not without alarm, for messengers from those parts which were still independent were going secretly from town to town, to rally the friends of the country, and reanimate their courage, depressed by the rapidity of their defeat.⁵ Some of the men of greatest influence among the people were daily disappearing from the eyes

¹ Conquæstui parere. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 221.

² Accitis sibi in auxilium regibus Wallarorum. *Florentinus Wigorn.*, p. 635.

³ Herefordenses castellani. *Ibid. Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

⁴ Ad pontem amnis Lugge. *Ibid.*

⁵ Regionatim de pravis conspirationibus tractant. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 212.

of the foreign authority; those, who, in the first panic, had repaired to William's camp and taken the oath of peace and submission to him, received patriotic addresses, inviting them to break all compact with the foreigner, and join the cause of the good and brave.¹ One Saxon chief, named Kox,² refused to obey the messages to this effect which were sent to him amicably in the name of ancient independence. Irritated by his refusal, the conspirators first conveyed to him orders and afterwards threats; and, as he persisted in his love for the conquerors, these threats were put in execution, and he perished in a tumult, in spite of foreign protection.³ He is celebrated by the Norman historians as a martyr to fidelity—one worthy to be cited as an example, and whose glory ought to live from age to age.⁴

The news of this agitation and these energetic proceedings, having reached William in his province of Gaul, obliged him to return with precipitation. He embarked at the port of Dieppe on a cold night in December, and, on his arrival, placed in the fortresses of Sussex governors chosen in Normandy from among those in whom he put the greatest trust. He found in London a sensation not loud but deep, which seemed to presage some decisive movement; and, fearing that in the day of battle, the three castles, with their towers full of arms and machines, would prove but a weak defence against the insurrection of the citizens, he resolved to prevent or retard the arrival of the fatal moment, and employ his cunning—that fox-like cunning which the old historians attribute to him⁵—in order to lull that patriotic spirit which he despaired of breaking. He celebrated the festival of Christmas in London with great pomp; and, assembling round him many of the Saxon chiefs and bishops, loaded them with feigned caresses; he showed affability to all; he gave to all the kiss of welcome;⁶ when they asked, he granted; when they advised, he listened:—they became the dupes of these artifices.⁷

¹ Ut extraneos deserens optimorum hominum suæ nationis voluntatem sequeretur. *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 212.

² Coxo comes. *Ibid.*

³ Ut libertatem a proavis traditam defenderet. . . . Ille popularium odium perpeti quam fidei integritatem temerare maluit. *Ibid.*

⁴ Morte occidit immerita, et quam deceat propagari ut vivat laus ejus atque per exemplum oriatur. *Ibid.*

⁵ Calliditate regis vulpina. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat. Sti. Albani*, p. 30.

⁶ Dulciter ad oscula invitabat. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 509.

⁷ Si quod orabant concedebat, si nunciabant aut suggerebant, auscultabat: desertores hac arte reducuntur. *Ibid.*

After thus gaining over a part of the men of influence, William turned to the people. A proclamation written in Saxon, and addressed to the inhabitants of London, was published in the name of the conqueror, and read aloud in the churches and public places of the city. "Be it known to all," said he, "what is my will. It is, that you should all enjoy your national laws as in the days of King Edward; that every son should inherit from his father, after the days of his father; and that no man should do you any wrong."¹ On this promise, insincere as it was, the agitation in London subsided; the present relief made the people less disposed to run the perilous hazard of a general resistance to the victor. Relieved for a moment from the conquest—exempted from the three scourges which the conquest had brought with it, expropriation, insult, and foreign law, the men of the great Saxon city separated themselves from the cause of those who were suffering; and, calculating merely their own gain and loss, resolved to remain quiet. We know not how long they enjoyed the new concessions of the foreigner; but we do know that they allowed him to depart with impunity from London, with the flower of his troops, to go and subjugate the yet free provinces.

The Norman first directed his march toward the south-west; and, crossing the heights which separate the provinces of Dorset and Devon, advanced against Exeter.² In this city the mother of Harold, named Ghithe or Edith, had taken refuge after the fatal battle of Hastings; and had gathered together the remains of her wealth, which she devoted to the cause of the country for which her son had died. The citizens of Exeter were numerous and full of patriotic zeal: cotemporary history bears this honourable testimony respecting them—that, whether old or young, they had a deadly hatred of the invaders from abroad.³ They fortified their walls and towers, called in armed men from all the surrounding country, and hired as soldiers the foreign navigators who happened to be in their ports: they also sent messages to the inhabitants of the other towns, inviting them to become their confederates;⁴ preparing their utmost strength against the

¹ . . . and ic will thæt ælc cyld beo his fæder irfnome æfter his fæder dæge. *Maitland's Hist. of London*, p. 28.

² Et tunc profectus est ad Defna-scire. *Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

³ Infestissimi mortalibus Gallici generis. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 510.

⁴ Alias quoque civitates ad conspirandum instigabant. *Ibid.*

king of foreign birth, with whom, until that moment (say the chronicles), they had had no dealings whatever.¹

The approach of the soldiers of the invasion was made known to the citizens of Exeter from afar, by the report of their ravages; for every place through which they passed was entirely devastated.² They stopped at the distance of four miles; and from thence William sent to the inhabitants the imperious order to take the oath of submission to him. "We will take no oath," answered they, "to him who styles himself king, nor will we receive him within our walls. We will only consent, if he will receive it, to pay to him as a tribute the tax which we give to our kings."³ "I want subjects," replied William, "and it is not my custom to take them on such conditions."⁴ The Norman troops approached: with the advanced guard there marched a battalion of Englishmen who had surrendered to the foreigner, through either treason, stupidity, or misery, and were placed in front, to sustain the first shock.⁵ It is not known through what intrigue the chiefs and magistrates of Exeter went to the Norman before the first assault, to give him hostages and sue for peace: but at their return from the camp of the foreigners, the spirit of independence had prevailed against the chiefs and the engagement which they had just entered into; and, instead of opening their gates, the citizens fortified them afresh, and lined their walls with combatants.⁶

William invested the town; and, causing one of the hostages he had received to be carried within view of the ramparts, ordered his eyes to be torn out.⁷ The siege lasted eighteen days; a great part of the Norman army fell victims to it; the conqueror received fresh reinforcements, and his miners sapped the walls: but the obstinacy of the inhabitants seemed invincible. They would perhaps have wearied William, if the men who commanded them had not a second time proved themselves cowards. Some historians relate that the inhabitants of Exeter repaired to the foreigner's camp in the

¹ Contra regem alienigenam cum quo antea de nullo negotio egerant. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 510.

² Permisit semper vastari omne quod pertransibant. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*

³ Neque sacramentum regi faciemus. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 510.

⁴ Non est mihi moris ad hanc conditionem habere subjectos. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 510.

⁵ Primos in ea expeditione Anglos eduxit. *Ibid.*

⁶ Concives nihilominus machinantur hostilia quæ cæperant. *Ibid.*

⁷ Unus ex obsidibus prope portam oculis privatus est. *Ibid.*

garb and posture of suppliants, with their priests in religious habits carrying the sacred books and vessels.¹ The contemporary Saxon chronicle has only these words, which are mournful from their very brevity: "The citizens surrendered the town because their chiefs deceived them."²

A great number of women, escaping the massacre which followed the surrender of Exeter,³ fled with the mother of the last king of the English race to Bath, which was not yet in the enemy's possession; from thence they reached the western coast; and, for want of a more direct way, embarked there for Flanders. The country around the city was subdued, though not without resistance; and a fortress to overawe the town was built, of the ruins of more than a hundred houses, on a hill of reddish earth, called by the Normans *le mont-rouge*.⁴ This castle was entrusted to the care of Baudoin, son of Gilbert Crespin—also called Gilbert de Brienne, who had for his share as conqueror, and his salary as viscount, twenty houses at Exeter, and 150 manors, all in the province of Devon.⁵

The Saxon inhabitants of this province had formed an alliance against the Normans with the old Britons of Cornwall. After the taking of Exeter, these two populations, now united after so long a hostility, were involved in the same ruin, and the territories of both were shared by the conquerors. One of the first names that appear inscribed on the rolls of this partition is that of the conqueror's wife, Matilde, daughter of Baudoin, Count of Flanders, whom the Normans called *la reine*, a title unknown to the English, who in their language used only the names of *lady* or *wife*.⁶ Matilde obtained, as her share of the conquest, all the lands belonging to a rich Saxon named Brihtric.⁷ This man, according to old accounts, was not entirely unknown to the Norman woman; but, during his residence in Flanders as ambassador from King Edward,

¹ *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 510.

² *Illi urbem ei tradiderunt eo quod Thani eos deceperunt. Chron. Sax. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

³ *Multorum bonorum virorum uxores. Ibid.*

⁴ *Extracta ex libro censuali vulgo Doomesday-book, apud Script. collect. & Gale, p. 765.*

⁵ *Dugdale's Baronage.*

⁶ *Se hlafdige, se cwene. Hlafdige, by suppressing the aspirates, has been converted into læfedye, lardy, and lastly into lady. Cwene, cween, cwen, properly signifies a woman.*

⁷ *Infra scriptas terras tenuit Brictric, et post Regina Matildis. Doomesday-book, tom. ii. p. 100.*

had incurred her implacable resentment by refusing to marry her. She herself asked the new king to place at her disposal, with all his possessions, the man who had disdained her. She gratified her revenge and her cupidity at once, by appropriating the possessions to herself, and causing the man to be shut up in the fortress of Winchester.¹

It is probable that the conquest and partition of the Somerset and Gloucester coasts immediately followed this first invasion of the west. There are facts which prove that they were not conquered and divided without resistance. According to the tradition of the country, the monastery at Winchcomb at that time lost all its possessions, because the monks of the place, unthinking and ill-advised (says an old narrator) had taken the side opposed to King William.² Godric, their abbot, was carried off by the Norman soldiers and imprisoned at Gloucester; and the convent, hateful to the conquerors, was given into the keeping of Egelwy, chief of the Abbey of Evesham, called in the cotemporary annals *Egelwy the circumspect*,³ one of those men who, according to the same annals, "hatching no rebellion for a liberty which was no more, feared God and the king ordained by God."⁴ From the time of the first defeat of the English nation, Egelwy had sworn sincere fidelity to the foreigner for whom God had declared Himself. When the conquest came to be extended over the western country, he solicited a share in the expropriation of his fellow-countrymen; and, imitating his friends the conquerors, drove several of the English from their domains:⁵ to others he sold his interest with the Normans for gold; and when the Normans had killed them, he inherited their spoils.⁶ This character and these actions caused him to be distinguished by William, who loved and honoured him much.⁷ He governed the rebellious monks of Winchcomb as the foreigners desired, until a foreigner named Galand came from abroad to discharge the office with still greater rigour.

¹ Cum eum haberet exosum, tempore opportuno reperto, ipsum Wintoniam fecit adduci . . . ejus honorem vero quoad rixit occupavit. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 154.

² Minus caute de futuris prospicientes, elegerunt pro viribus resistere. *Ibid.* p. 190.

³ Egelvig, circumspectus abbas. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*

⁴ Deo servantes fidem et constitutum ab ipso venerantes regem. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 509.

⁵ *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 132.

⁶ Suam eis protectionem contra Normannos spondebat. *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 151.

Thus the domain of English independence gradually became narrower in the west ; but the extensive provinces of the north still afforded the friends of the country an asylum, a retreat, and a field for warfare. Thither all those repaired who were left without lands or kindred—they whose brothers were slain, or whose daughters had been ravished—they who (say the annals of the time) chose rather to lead a life of toil and hardship than to endure a slavery unknown to their forefathers.¹ They went from forest to forest, and from desert to desert, until they reached the last line of fortresses built by the foreigner.² When they had crossed this boundary of servitude, they found old England once more, and embraced one another in freedom. Repentance soon brought to them those chiefs who, having been the first to despair of the common cause, had set the first example of voluntary submission.³ They escaped from the palace where the conqueror held them captive, under false appearances of affection, calling them his great, his particular friends,⁴ and availing himself of their presence at his feasts and courts, as a pretext for coercive measures against the people who did not bow before a king surrounded by their national chiefs. In this manner Edwin and Morkar set out for the north country ; the wishes of the poor (say the historians of English birth) accompanied them in their flight ; and such priests as were faithful to their country, offered up prayers for them.⁵

No sooner had the sons of Alfgar reached their ancient governments of Mercia and Northumbria, than great indications of patriotic movements appeared in those two countries, from Oxford to the banks of the Tweed. No Norman had yet passed the Humber, and only a few had penetrated into the heart of Mercia. This latter country communicated freely, by its north-west frontier, with the Welsh population, who, forgetting their old causes of enmity against the sons of the Saxons, now confederated with them against the new invaders of Britain. The report reached the quarters of the Norman, that the Saxon and Welsh chiefs were holding a council among the mountains ; that they had, with one accord, resolved to deliver their island from the yoke of the Gaulish conquerors ;

¹ Vitam feralem ducere malentes quam patribus incognitum subire servitium. *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 115.

² Loca deserta et nemorosa petentes. *Ibid.*

³ Normannis cessisse penitentes. *Ibid.* p. 225.

⁴ Tanquam domesticos et speciales amicos. *Ibid. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 30.

⁵ Clericis et monachis crebra pro illis fiebat oratio. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 511.

and, to that end, were sending agents and deputies into every corner of the island, to stir up, openly and secretly, the indignation and courage of the people.¹ The great camp of independence was to be formed beyond the Humber, and the great city of York was fixed upon as its first bulwark.² Entrenchments were thrown up behind the lakes and morasses of the north. A great number of men had sworn never again to sleep under a roof, until the day of victory; and the Normans, through a sort of spleen, denominated them savages.³ Among these was young Edric, son of Alfric, who had so energetically supported the Saxon cause in the province of Hereford.

It cannot now be known how many projects of deliverance, well or ill conceived, were at this time formed and destroyed. History scarcely deigns to mention even a few of the men who preferred danger to servitude; and the same force, which frustrated their efforts, almost consigned them to oblivion. One Norman chronicler alone denounces, with bitter reproaches, a conspiracy, the object of which was (as he says) to attack unawares, throughout England, the soldiers of the foreign garrisons, on the first day of the great fast, when, according to the devotion of the age, they were to go to the churches as penitents, barefoot and unarmed.⁴ The writer, while he praises God for the discovery of this *abominable machination*, regrets that the leaders of the plot escaped by flight from the vengeance of the *great conqueror*.⁵ They fled to the northern provinces; and were soon joined by a new fugitive, dearer to the Saxons than all the rest, Edgar, the lawful King of England, according to the maxims of the time, by the election of the people and the consecration of the church. He departed with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, a chief named Merlsweyn, and many other *good men*, as the Saxon chronicle expresses it.⁶ They all passed together the frontier which, since the defeat of the Saxon king Egfrid by the Scots and Picts, had separated the country of the English from the ancient Albany.⁷

¹ Fit ex consensu omnium pro vindicanda libertate pristina procax conspiratio, et obnixa contra Normannos conjuratio. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 511.

² Seditiosi sylvas, paludes, æstuaria, in munimentis habent. *Ibid.*

³ Nudi quidam eorum a Normannis silvatici cognominabantur. *Ibid.*

⁴ In capite Jejunii, nudis vestigiis incautos ubique perimerent. *Ex Guil. Gemeticensi, Script. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

⁵ Magni debellatoris. *Ibid.*

⁶ Godva manna. *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

⁷ See Book I. p. 61, and Book II. p. 77.

The invasions of the Danish pirates, which extended north as well as south of the Tweed, had not changed this frontier. The only result of the dominion exercised for some time by the Danes over the mixed people of Picts, ancient Britons, and Saxons, inhabiting between the Forth and Tweed, was the adding to this medley of different races a fresh mass of Germanic population; and hence it was that, south of the Forth, especially towards the east, the prevailing idiom was the Teutonic language, interspersed with Gothic and British words, but approaching in its grammatical forms nearer to the Danish than to the Anglo-Saxon dialect. At the very time when this change was gradually operating in the south of Albany, a revolution in the north, more rapidly accomplished, united in one single state the Picts of the eastern coast and the Scots of the western mountains, until then separate nations, governed by independent chiefs. This junction was not effected without some violence; for, although they were very likely of the same origin, though their language differed but little,¹ and they were naturally inclined to confederate against a common adversary, yet the two nations were rivals in time of peace.

The Scots, who were hunters on the mountains, and led a more active life than their neighbours of the plains, thought themselves the more noble, and called the others in derision *eaters of corn and bread*.² Notwithstanding this apparent contempt for grain, the chiefs of the Scots were ambitious of extending over the plains, which produced harvests, the power which they exercised in the land of rocks and lakes. They endeavoured for a long time to gain their object by force and intrigue; but the Picts resisted them, until the period when they were weakened by the Danish invasions.³ Kenneth son of Alpin, King of West Albany, seized the favourable moment, and descended upon the lands of the Picts to place them under his authority; the *eaters of bread* were conquered by the eaters of flesh, and the greater part of them submitted to Kenneth. Others of them attempted, by retiring northward, to preserve to themselves a king of their own nation and choice:⁴ but they were unsuccessful; and

¹ The historian Bede, in the eighth century, distinguishes the idiom of the Picts from that of the Scots.

² *Fir na cruinneachd. Jamieson's Popular Songs*, vol. ii.

³ *Forduni Scotorum Historia*, p. 660.

⁴ *Sub spe resistendi novum ab eis regem creatum sequebantur. Ibid.* p. 663.

Kenneth, king of the Scots or Scotch, became chief of all Albany, which from that time was called Scotland. The Pictish people lost their name in uniting with the Scotch; but it does not appear that this union took place on unequal conditions, as would doubtless have been the case had the victors and the vanquished been of different races. The conquered people had no slavery, no political degradation to suffer; the condition of serfs of the soil, the ordinary fruit of foreign conquests in ancient times, was not introduced in Scotland. In a short time there was only one people north of the Forth; and it soon became a fruitless task to seek any traces of the idiom spoken by the Picts in the time of their independence. The kings of the conquerors, deserting the country of their birth, came to dwell among the conquered at Dunfermline or at Scone. Thither they transported the consecrated stone upon which, according to ancient custom, they placed themselves, on the day of their inauguration, to take the oath to the people, and to which a national superstition attached the destiny of the Scottish race.

At the time of the Norman invasion of England, there remained not the slightest trace of the ancient separation of the Gaëls of Scotland into two distinct populations; and the only apparent distinction was that between the men who spoke the Gaëlic tongue, also called Erse (that is, Irish¹), and those whose idiom was intelligible at once to the English, to the Danes, and to all the Germans of the continent. The population the nearest to England, though called Scotch, bore a greater affinity to the people of that country, from their resemblance of language and community of origin, than to the Scotch of the Gaëlic race, who, joining with a somewhat savage pride habits of political independence proceeding from their organisation in clans or separate tribes, were frequently at variance with the Teutonic population of the plains of the south and with the kings of Scotland. The kings always found the Scotch of the plains disposed to support them in their attempts upon the liberty of the mountain clans; and thus the instinctive enmity of the two races of men, springing from their diversity of origin and language, proved to the advantage of the kingly despotism. This, being more than once experienced by the successors of Kenneth son of Alpin, excited in them a great affection for the inhabitants of the lowlands of Scotland, and in general for

¹ Yre, Yrse, Yrshe. The Saxon name of the inhabitants of Ira-land.

men of English origin: they preferred them to their fellow-countrymen, to those of the same blood with themselves; they favoured, to the utmost of their power, the Scotch by name at the expense of the Scotch by birth; and in like manner, received with eager good-will all emigrants from England.

It was through this political partiality that Malcolm King of Scotland, surnamed Kenmore,¹ received as welcome guests young Edgar, his sisters, and his friends.² He saluted him as the true and lawful king of the English; and offered him a safe asylum, and assistance once more to try his fortune. To the Saxon chiefs who accompanied the dispossessed king, he gave commands and domains, which, perhaps, he despotically took from his men of the British or Gaëlic race; and as he had not yet taken a wife, he married Edgar's youngest sister, named Margaret. Margaret, being unacquainted with the language of the Gaëls, frequently stood in need of an interpreter, to speak to the chiefs of the northern and western tribes; and this office was performed by King Malcolm, her husband.³ Malcolm could express himself well in both idioms; but in a short time after his reign the kings of Scotland disdained to speak or learn the language of the old Scots—of the people from whom they themselves descended, and to whom the country owed its name.

The news of the alliance formed betwixt the Saxons and the King of Scotland, and of the hostile assemblages in the north of England, determined William not to await an attack, but to act vigorously on the offensive.⁴ His first feat of arms in this new expedition was the siege of the city of Oxford. The citizens resisted, and insulted the foreigner from their walls; but a part of the rampart, which had been sapped by the Normans, gave way; and they, entering by assault through the breach, revenged themselves on the citizens by fire and massacre.⁵ Of seven hundred and twenty houses nearly four hundred were destroyed.⁶ The monks of the Convent of St. Frideswide, following the example of those of Hida and Winchcomb, appeared in arms under their gowns, to defend

¹ Otherwise, *Ceanmore*, *Canmore*.

² *Forduni Hist. Scotor.*, p. 411.

³ Anglicam enim linguam æque ut propriam didicerat. *Forduni Scot. Hist.*, p. 412. *Ellis's Metrical Romances*, preface.

⁴ Nuntiatum est regi quod populus ex aquilone se congregaverat et voluerat ipsi resistere si veniret, profectus itaque est. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*

⁵ Civibus ferro flammaque necatis. *Math. Paris.*, p. 4.

⁶ *Domesday-book*.

their native soil: they were stripped of all their possessions and driven from their abode.¹ The town of Warwick was next taken; then Leicester, which was almost utterly destroyed;² then Derby, in which a third part of the houses was demolished.³ After the siege of Nottingham, a strong citadel was built there, and confided to the care of a Norman named Guillaume Peurel or Peverel. This Guillaume received, as his share of the conquest, fifty-five manors in the province of Nottingham; and in the town, the houses of forty-eight English tradesmen, twelve warriors, and eight husbandmen.⁴ He fixed his residence in the province of Derby, on an overhanging rock, at the top of which his castle appeared almost suspended in the air, like the nest of a bird of prey.⁵

From Nottingham the Norman troops marched eastward upon Lincoln, which they forced to capitulate and give them hostages. A hundred and sixty-six houses were destroyed to make room for the fortresses that were built, and the entrenchments with which the foreign garrison surrounded themselves here with greater care and art than elsewhere;⁶ for in this town, the population of which was of Danish origin, the conquerors apprehended, as at Norwich, an attack from the Danes beyond sea.⁷ Among the Lincoln hostages imprisoned in the Norman fortress, as sureties for the tranquillity of the province, was a young man named Thurgot, of Danish descent, who succeeded in bribing his keepers to set him at liberty.⁸ He went secretly to the port of Grimsby, at the mouth of the Humber, to some Norwegian merchants whose ship was ready to sail. Unfortunately, this vessel had been engaged for the passage of certain ambassadors whom the conqueror was sending into the north, to dissuade the kings of those countries from taking an interest in the cause of the Saxons and lending them their assistance. The Norwegians, without

¹ *Spoliati bonis suis et sedibus expulsi suis. Monast. Anglic., tom. i. p. 984.*

² *Destructa civitate Leycestriæ cum castello et ecclesia. Ibid. tom. i. p. 312.*

³ *Doomesday-book.*

⁴ *Villelmus Peurel habet XLVIII dom. mercator. et XII domus equitum et VIII bord. Ibid. tom. ii. p. 285.*

⁵ This place is now called *the Peak*; and upon it the ruins of Peverel's fortress are still to be seen.

⁶ *De prædictis vastis mansuris ppt. castellum destructæ fuerunt CLXVI, reliquæ LXXIII vastatæ sunt extra metam castelli. Doomesday-book, tom. ii. p. 336.*

⁷ *Guill. Pictav., p. 208.*

⁸ In *Lincolniensi castro incarceratus fuerat, inter alios Anglorum obsides. Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 786.*

hesitation, undertook to save the young fugitive; and concealed him at the bottom of the ship, so well that the Norman inspectors of the coast, who visited it at the moment of its departure, perceived nothing of the matter.¹ The ambassadors embarked; and when the land had disappeared, the hostage, to their great astonishment, came forth. They wished the sailors to return, in order, said they, to give up to King William his fugitive;² but the Norwegians, disregarding their remonstrances, sarcastically replied, "The wind is too fair; the ship goes too well; it would be a pity to lose the opportunity." The dispute at length became so warm on both sides, that recourse was had to arms; but the strength was on the side of the sailors, and as the ship advanced into the open sea the Normans gradually became quiet.³

Having departed from Lincoln, which, by a sort of French euphony,⁴ they called *Nicole*, the soldiers of the invasion marched upon York; and, where the streams whose junction forms the large river Humber approach each other, they met the confederate army of the Anglo-Saxons and Welsh. There, as at Hastings, by the superiority of their numbers and their arms, they drove the enemy from the positions which they in vain defended foot by foot.⁵ A great number of the English perished; the rest sought a refuge within the walls of York; but the victors, pursuing them closely, made a breach and entered the town, putting all to the sword (say the chronicles), from the infant to the old man.⁶ The remains of the patriotic army, or (to use the language of the Norman historians) the army of the factious and rebellious,⁷ went down the Humber in boats,⁸ and afterwards ascended the rivers to the north, into the country of the Scotch or the English territories bordering on Scotland. This was the rallying place for those who had been defeated at York. "Thither," says an old chronicler, "retired the noble chiefs Edwin and Morkar, with other men of great distinction, bishops, clerks, men of all conditions,

¹ In navi exactores regis scrutinia fecerunt. *R. de Hov.*, p. 465.

² Cum fugitivo regis. *Ibid.*

³ Quantoque magis terræ appropinquabant tanto magis illis se humiliabant. *Ibid.*

⁴ *Chartæ apud Monast. Anglican.*

⁵ Seditiosi audacia et viribus fisi . . . profligati. . . . *Guill. Gemet. ap. Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

⁶ Tam ferro quam igne a puero usque ad senem. *Guil. Gemet., apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Per Humbre fluvium navibus effugerunt. *Ibid.*

sorrowful at seeing their own cause the weakest, but not resigning themselves to slavery.”¹

The conquerors built a citadel in the heart of the city of York, which thus became a Norman fortress and the northern bulwark of the conquest. Its towers, occupied by five hundred men in full armour, attended by several thousand esquires and servants-at-arms, threatened the country of the Northumbrians. The invasion, however, was not then pursued into that country; and it is even doubtful whether the province of York was invaded in its whole breadth, from the ocean to the mountains. Its metropolis, subdued before its territory, was the advanced post of the Normans, and a post still dangerous: they laboured night and day in tracing their lines of defence; forcing the poor Saxon who had escaped massacre to dig trenches, and repair for the enemy the ruins which the enemy had made. Fearing that they should be besieged in their turn, they collected together from all sides and heaped up in their donjons provisions of every description. At this time, Eldred, Archbishop of York, he who had lent his ministry to the consecration of the foreign king, came into the desolated city for the celebration of a religious ceremony.² On his arrival, he sent to his own lands, situated not far from York, for provisions for his own use. His domestics, bringing horses and waggons laden with corn and other necessities, were accidentally met at one of the gates by the viscount or Norman governor of the town, with a numerous escort. “Who are you?” asked the Norman; “and to whom are you carrying these supplies?” They answered, “We are the servants of the archbishop, and these things are for the use of his household.”³ The viscount, caring little about the archbishop and his household, made a sign to his men-at-arms to take both horses and waggons to the citadel of York, and deposit the provisions in the Norman magazines.⁴

When the pontiff, who had been friendly to the conquest, found himself injured by the conquest, there arose in his inmost soul an indignation which his calm and, above all, prudent spirit, had never felt before. Eldred immediately departed for the conqueror’s quarters; and presented himself

¹ Videntes suam partem inferiorem, et servire renuentes. *Math. Westmon.*, p. 225.

² Morabatur in una solemnitate Eboraci. *Chron. Will. Stubbs*, p. 1703.

³ Servi, inquirunt, archiepiscopi sumus. *Ibid.*

⁴ Parvi pendens archiepiscopum et famulos ejus. *Ibid.*

before him in pontifical habits, with his pastoral staff in his hand.¹ William rose to offer him, according to the custom of the time, the kiss of peace; but the Saxon prelate kept aloof, and said, "Hear me, King William. Thou wert a foreigner; nevertheless, it being the will of God to chastise our nation, thou obtainedst, at the cost of much blood, the kingdom of England. I then anointed thee king; I crowned thee; I blessed thee with my own hand: but now I curse thee and thy race; because thou hast deserved it—because thou art the persecutor of God's church, and the oppressor of its ministers."²

The Norman king heard the impotent malediction of the old priest without concern; and restrained the indignation of his flatterers, who, trembling with rage, and half unsheathing their swords, asked permission to revenge the insolence of the Saxon.³ He allowed Eldred to return in peace and safety to his church at York: but this adventure filled the archbishop's heart with chagrin, and perhaps with remorse for having aided in the establishment of the foreign dominion.⁴ The dream of personal ambition dispelled by his first experience of the truth, the conviction that he himself was exempt neither from the outrages of the foreigner nor from the public servitude, threw him into a slow malady which gradually wasted his strength. A year afterwards, when the Saxons, having rallied once more, were advancing to attack the town of York, Eldred's languor and chagrin were redoubled; and, as if he feared death less than the presence of the men who had remained faithful to their country, he prayed God (say the chronicles) to withdraw him from this world, that he might not behold the total ruin of his native land and the destruction of his church.⁵

The war was still carried on at the extremities of England; agitation everywhere prevailed; and it was expected that the fugitives of York would return by land or by sea, to try some new effort. The wearisomeness of this struggle, without any visible term, began from that time to be felt by the soldiers and even by the chiefs of the invasion. Many, thinking them-

¹ Cum baculo pontificali stola circumdatus. *Chron. Will. Stubbs*, p. 1703.

² Audi, inquit, Willelme rex, cum esses alienigena . . . nunc autem, quia ita meruisti, pro benedictione maledictionem tibi imponam. *Ibid.*

³ Frementes minisque et terroribus adversus eum insurgentes. *Ibid.*

⁴ *Will. Stubbs*, p. 1703. Ex ægritudine animi. *Willelm. Malmesb. Vita Pontif.*, p. 27.

⁵ Valde tristis effectus, precibusque ad Deum effusis, ne ecclesiæ suæ destructionem nec patriæ videret desolationem. *Chron. Will. Stubbs*, p. 1703.

selves rich enough, resolved to retire from their toils ; others found that the domains of the English were not worth the pains and labour which they cost them ; and others wished to return to their wives, who importuned them by numberless messages to return to them and their children.¹ King William was extremely alarmed at these dispositions. In order to revive expiring zeal, he offered more than he had yet given. He promised to bestow, when the conquest should be completed, lands, revenues, money and honours.² He caused suspicions to be circulated of the cowardice of those who asked to retire, and abandoned their lord when in danger in the midst of foreigners.³ Bitter sarcasms were levelled against the Norman women, who so eagerly recalled their protectors and the fathers of their children.⁴ But, in spite of all these manœuvres, Hugues de Grantmesnil, count of the province of Norfolk, his brother-in-law Honfroy de Tilleul, keeper of the fort of Hastings, and a great many others departed, leaving their lands and their men to go (as William's courtiers said) to put themselves in the service of their ladies, and watch over their honour as husbands at the expense of their loyalty as warriors.⁵ This departure made a great impression on the mind of the new king. Foreseeing greater difficulties than he had yet experienced, he sent his wife Matilde into Normandy, that she might be removed from all danger, and he might devote himself entirely to the toils and cares of war.⁶ Nor was it long before new events justified his uneasiness.

One of Harold's two sons, named Edmund and Godwin, came from Ireland, whither they had both fled, either after the battle of Hastings or after the taking of Exeter, and brought sixty vessels with a small army to the assistance of the English.⁷ He entered the mouth of the Avon, and laid siege to Bristol ; but, being unable to get possession of it, he returned to his ships, and proceeded along the south-west coast, to land in the province of Somerset. On his approach, all the inhabitants rose against the Normans ; and the insurrection

¹ Crebris nunciis a viris suis flagitabant, ut cito reverterentur. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 512.

² Terris cum redditibus et magnis potestatibus. *Ibid.*

³ Regem inter externos laborantem. *Ibid.*

⁴ Sæva libidinis face urebantur . . . lascivæ conjuges. . . . *Ibid.*

⁵ Famulari lascivis dominis suis. *Ibid.*

⁶ Bellicis turbinibus undique insurgentibus admodum occupatus. *Ibid.*, *apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 241.

⁷ Cum sexaginta navibus. *Guill. Gemet.*, *apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

extended into the provinces of Devon and Dorset. The alliance of the Britons of Cornwall with their neighbours the Saxons was once more renewed ; and they made a combined attack on the principal body of troops stationed in that quarter under the command of one Dreux de Mont-aigu.¹ Great reinforcements were sent to the assistance of this Norman ; and the first troop that advanced against the insurgents was composed of Englishmen who had found it easier to sell themselves to the foreigner than to resist him. They were led by Ednoth, formerly an officer of high rank in the service of King Harold ;² and William, in sending them against their countrymen, was as desirous that they themselves should be killed as that they should kill his enemies. On whichever side the victory might be, he thought (says an old historian) that it must be to his advantage, since there would be Saxons³ slain in it. Ednoth perished, with many of his followers ; the insurrection continued ; and the son of Harold returned to Ireland to bring over his brother with fresh troops.

Edmund and Godwin, sailing together, and doubling the long promontory called the Land's End, entered this time the mouth of the river Tovey, in the southern part of the province of Devon.⁴ They imprudently ventured upon the territory where the Normans of the south had assembled their forces to oppose a barrier to the insurrection of the west. Two chiefs, of whom one was Brian, son of Eudes, Duke of Lower Brittany, attacked them unawares, and killed nearly two thousand men, Saxons, British, and Irish. The sons of the late king returned to their vessels and sailed away in sadness, having now lost every hope.⁵ To complete the destruction of the revolted people of Dorset and Somerset, Geoffroy, Bishop of Coutances, came with the garrisons of London, Winchester, and Salisbury. He seized a great number of men, either in arms or suspected of having taken up arms, and cruelly mutilated them, in their limbs or features.⁶

This rout and retreat of the auxiliaries from Ireland did not entirely allay the ferment among the populations of the west.

¹ Exoniensis comitatus habitatores coadonata turba ex cornu Britanniae. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 514.

² Eadnoth stallere (aulæ præfectus). *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

³ Dum alienigenæ alterutros confoderent, ingens sibi levamen providens utrilibet vincerent. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 104.

⁴ *Chron. Sax. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Captos mutilaverunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 514.

The movement, which had begun in the south, had communicated itself to the whole frontier of the Welsh territory. The men of the country about Chester, a country yet free from all invasion, had come down to Shrewsbury; and, joining the soldiers of young Edric, whom the Normans called *the wild*, they drove back the foreigners toward the east.¹ The two chiefs Brian and Guillaume, who had driven away the sons of Harold and reduced the men of Devon and Cornwall, then advanced from the south; and the king himself, departing from Lincoln, came on the eastern side with a chosen body of his warriors. Near Stafford, at the foot of the great chain of mountains, he met a division of the army which the friends of the conquest called the party of the factious, and destroyed it in one battle.² The other captains penetrated as far as Shrewsbury; this town, with the surrounding country, again fell under the yoke of the foreigner, and the men laid down their arms. A few brave men, who chose to keep them, took refuge in the downs by the sea-side, or on the tops of the mountains. For a long time they continued a painful and unprofitable struggle against the small isolated bodies; they laid ambuscades at the entrances of the woods and in the narrow valleys, for the straggling soldier, the adventurous forager, or the messenger carrying orders from the chiefs; but the great roads, the cities and towns, were occupied by the enemy's battalions. Hope was succeeded by terror; men shunned one another instead of uniting; and the whole of the south-west country once more became silent.

In the north, the city of York continued to be the extreme limit of the conquest. The Norman soldiers occupying that place did not strive to advance beyond it; and even their excursions into the country south of York were not without danger to themselves: Hugues son of Baudry, viscount or governor of the town, did not dare to go as far as Selby, and pass the river Ouse,³ without taking with him a numerous escort. It was dangerous for the Norman warrior to leave his camp or his arms; for troops of insurgents, dispersing and immediately forming again, were continually harassing the bodies of troops on march, and even the garrisons of York.⁴

¹ Gualli et Castrenses præsidium regis apud Scrobesburiam obsiderunt, quibus incolæ civitatis cum Edrico cognomento guilda (*wild*) aliisque ferocibus Anglis auxilio fuerunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 514.

² *Ibid.*

³ Comitabatur eum non modica militiæ multitudo . . . fecit hoc illis partibus Anglorum indomita ferocitas et invicta constantia, qui semper ad vindictam

Guillaume Malet, colleague of Hugues son of Baudry in the command of these garrisons, went so far as to declare in his despatches, that without prompt assistance he would not answer for the safety of his post.¹ This news, being brought to the conqueror's quarters, excited great alarm. He himself departed in haste, and arrived before York at the moment when the citizens, leagued with the men of the flat country, were besieging the Norman fortress. He attacked them vigorously with superior numbers; spared no one (says the chronicles²); dispersed those whom he did not kill; and laid the foundation of a second castle, the erection and keeping of which he entrusted to his most intimate confidant, William son of Osbert, his seneschal and marshal for both Normandy and England.³

After his departure, the English rallied again, and laid siege to both the castles at once; but they were repulsed with loss, and the Normans finished their new works of defence unmolested.⁴ The possession of York being thenceforward ensured, the conqueror resumed the offensive, and endeavoured to extend the limits of the subjugated territory as far as Durham. The command of this hazardous expedition was given to one Robert, surnamed Cumine or Comine. Robert went forth gaily, with the anticipated title of Count of Northumbria.⁵ His army was inconsiderable; but his confidence in himself was great, and became unbounded when he found himself near the end of his route without having met with any resistance. He was already within sight of the towers of Durham, called by the foreigners the fortress of the rebels of the north,⁶ when Egelwin, the Saxon bishop of the town, hastened to meet him, and officiously warned him to beware of a surprise.⁷ "Who will attack me?" returned Comine: "none among you either can or dare."⁸ The Normans entered Durham; and massacred a few unarmed men, as if to insult and defy the English.⁹ The soldiers encamped in the open places, and the chief took the house of the bishop.

suam in Gallos insurgentes. *Ex. Historia Monast. Selbeiensis, apud Labbæum*, tom. i. p. 602.

¹ Denunciavit se defecturum, nisi maturum fessis conferat auxilium. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 512.

² Nec ulli pepercit. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Donavit Roberto comitatum in Northanhymbrorum terra. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 17.

⁶ *Guill. Gemet.*, p. 290.

⁷ Insidias præmonuit. *Aluredus Beverlacensis*, pp. 127, 128.

⁸ Dicens eos talia præsumere non audere. *Chron. Walt. Hemingsford.*, p. 548.

⁹ Occisis nonnullis. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 128.

Night came; and the men of the banks of the Tyne then lighted, on the heights, the fires which were to serve them as signals. They assembled in great numbers, and made all speed towards Durham. At daybreak they had arrived at the gates, which they broke;¹ and the Normans were assailed on all sides in the streets, of the turnings of which they were ignorant.² They endeavoured to rally at the episcopal house, where their count had taken up his quarters; they barricadoed it, and defended it for some time, discharging their arrows upon the Saxons from above; but the latter terminated the conflict by setting fire to the house, which was entirely consumed, with those who had shut themselves up in it.³ Robert Comine was among the dead; he had brought with him twelve hundred horsemen in full armour, and it is not precisely known how many servants-at-arms and foot soldiers accompanied them.⁴ This terrible defeat made such an impression upon the Normans, that the numerous forces sent to take vengeance for the massacre, having advanced as far as Elfertan, now Allerton, at an equal distance from York and Durham, being seized with a panic, refused to proceed any further. It was rumoured that they had been struck with immobility by a supernatural force, through the power of a saint named Cuthbert, who was interred at Durham, and protected the place of his repose.⁵

The Northumbrians, who gained this great victory, were descended from ancient Danish colonists; and there had never ceased to exist between them and the population of Denmark relations of reciprocal amity, the fruit of their community of origin. From the first moment that they were threatened by the Norman invasion, they sent to ask assistance from the Danes in the name of the ancient fraternity of their ancestors; and similar solicitations were also addressed to the kings of the north by the Anglo-Danish inhabitants of York, Lincoln, and Norwich.⁶ A crowd of Saxon refugees pleaded the cause of their country with the people of the

¹ *Tota nocte festinantes Dunelmum in diluculo per portas irrumpunt. Alured. Beverl., p. 128.*

² *Imparatos ubicumque locorum interficiunt. Ibid.*

³ *Sed cum non ferient jacula defendentium, domum cum habitantibus concremarunt. Ibid.*

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 174.*

⁵ *Ex Chronico Sanctæ crucis Edimburg. apud Angliam Sacram., tom. i. p. 159.*

⁶ *Angli Svenum (Danorum regem) de auxilio sollicitant. Script. Rer. Danic., tom. iii. p. 254.*

north; and importuned them to make war upon the Normans, who were oppressing a nation of the great Teutonic family, after having killed its king, allied by blood with the then existing chiefs of Denmark.¹ William, who had never in his life known how to pronounce a single word of the language which his forefathers had once spoken in the north, foresaw from the beginning this natural alliance of the Danes with the English, and therefore it was that he built so many fortresses on the eastern coasts of England. He also sent at different times to Swen, King of Denmark, accredited ambassadors, skilful negotiators, and bishops of insinuating address, to persuade him to remain at peace.² But the man of the north did not yield to these seductions: he did not consent (say the Danish chronicles) to leave the English people in servitude under a people of a foreign race and language; but he assembled his fleet and his soldiers.³ Two hundred and forty vessels sailed for Britain, commanded by Osbeorn, brother of Swen, and his two sons Harold and Knut. On receiving intelligence of their departure, the English counted the days that would elapse before the descent of these children of the Baltic, once so terrible to them, and pronounced with fondness the names which their ancestors had cursed.⁴ Other bodies of warriors, hired in the service of the Saxon cause with the gold which had been saved from the hands of the Norman plunderers, were to come in small fishing-boats from the sandy shores of ancient Saxony and Friesland.⁵ The Saxon refugees in Scotland promised some assistance; and, while awaiting the commencement of the grand struggle, the inhabitants of Northumbria, proud of the liberty which they had shown their ability to maintain, made frequent incursions into the cantonments of the foreigners.⁶ The commander of one of the castles of York was killed in one of these encounters.⁷

It was in the interval between the two feasts of the Virgin

¹ Ad ulciscendam consanguinei necem, Haroldi scilicet a francigenis interempti, et Angliam pristinae libertati restituendam. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 350.

² Legatos misit cum exeniis. *Chron. Henric. Knighton, apud Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 253. *Torfæi Hist. Norwegiæ.*

³ Audientes Daci Angliam esse subjectam Romanis seu francigenis, graviter sunt indignati, arma parant, classem aptant. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 254.

⁴ See Book II., *passim*.

⁵ Frisia pro Anglicis opibus copias mittebat. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 513.

⁶ Diversos excursus crebro agitantes Danorum præstolantes adventum. *Ex Guillelm. Gemeticensi, apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 530.

⁷ *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 512.

Mary in autumn, that the sons of King Swen, his brother Osbeorn, and five other Danish chiefs of high rank, landed in England.¹ They boldly attempted a descent on the south-east coast, the part best guarded by the conquerors; but, having been repulsed successively from Dover, Sandwich, and Norwich, they returned northward and entered the mouth of the Humber, as their forefathers had done, but with very different auspices.² As soon as their approach was rumoured in the surrounding places, on all sides (says the Saxon chronicle) the ancient chiefs of the English race, the men of influence among the people, and all the English in a body, quitted the towns, the houses, and the fields, to join and fraternise with the Danes.³ The young King Edgar, Merlsweyn, Gospatric, Siward Beorn, and many other Saxon refugees, promptly hastened from Scotland. On the other side came Waltheof son of Siward, who, like Edwin and his brother, and like King Edgar himself, had escaped from the palace of the foreign king: he was yet very young; but had the lofty stature and vigour of body which had rendered his father famous.⁴

The Saxons placed themselves in front, as the advanced guard, and the Danes formed the main army; in this order they marched upon York, some on horseback and some on foot (says the Saxon chronicle), full of joy and hope.⁵ Messengers were sent before them to inform the citizens that their deliverance was approaching, and the town was soon invested on all sides. On the eighth day of the siege, the Normans who guarded the castles, fearing that the neighbouring houses would furnish the assailants with materials for filling up the trenches, set fire to them.⁶ The conflagration rapidly spread; and, by the light of the flames, the insurgents and their auxiliaries, aided by the inhabitants of the place, penetrated into the town and compelled the foreigners to shut themselves up in their two citadels: the same day the citadels were carried by assault.⁷ There perished in this combat some thousands of the men of France, as they are termed in the

¹ *Math. Westmonast. Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

² *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 512.

³ *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, Ed. Lye. *Math. Westmonast. Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

⁴ *Nervosus lacertis, robustus pectore, et procerus toto corpore. Math. Westmonast.*, p. 229.

⁵ *Equitantes et iter facientes cum immenso agmine valde exultantes. Chron. Saxon. Frag.*

⁶ *Timentes ne domus quæ prope castella erant adjumento Danis ad fossas implendas essent. Alured. Beverl.*, p. 128.

⁷ *Dani et Nordhymbri eadem die castella fregerunt. Ibid.* pp. 128, 129.

English chronicles.¹ Waltheof, placed in ambuscade at one of the castle gates, killed with his own axe several flying Normans.² He pursued a hundred horsemen into a neighbouring wood; and, to save himself the trouble of a longer search, he caused it to be set fire to, and the hundred fugitives were burned. A Danish warrior and poet composed a song on this exploit, in which he called the Saxon chief brave as Odin in battle, and congratulated him on having furnished to the wolves of England a repast of Norman carcasses.³ The victors granted their lives to the commanders of York, Gilbert de Gand and Guillaume Malet, the wife and children of the latter, and a few others, who were carried on board the Danish fleet. They totally destroyed, perhaps imprudently, the fortifications built by the foreigner, that no trace might be left of his passage.⁴ Young Edgar, having once more become king at York, concluded a compact of mutual alliance with the citizens.⁵ Thus was again erected that national royalty which had lasted only for a moment: its dominion and Edgar's power extended from the Tweed to the Humber; but William and slavery still reigned over all the south—over all the fine country, over all the great and rich towns.

Winter was approaching: the Danish ships took their stations in the Humber, at the mouths of the Ouse and the Trent. Their army and that of the free Saxons awaited the return of mild weather to advance southward, to make the limits of the conquest still narrower, and to confound King William (as the historians of the age express it).⁶ William was not without uneasiness in the expectation of this critical moment. The defeat of his men had filled him with grief and anger; and he had sworn not to lay down his lance until he had killed all the Northumbrians: ⁷ but, moderating his eagerness, he resolved to employ artifice, and sent messengers to Osbeorn, the brother of King Swen, chief commander of the

¹ Multos centenos hominum francorum necarunt. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.* Multa millia. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

² Singulos egredientes per portam decapitavit. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 299.

³ Torva-tuenti oppositus est cibus alni equo (lupo) ex cadaveribus Francorum. *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii.

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 174.

⁵ Cives cum eo foedus iniverunt. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*, Ed. Lye.

⁶ Ut Guillelmum regem confunderent. *Math. Westmonast. Math. Paris.*,

p. 5.

⁷ Juravit se omnes Northymbrenses una lancea perempturum. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 451.

Danish fleet. He promised this chief to deliver to him secretly a large sum of money, and to leave him at liberty to take provisions for his army from all the eastern coast, if he would, at the end of winter, depart without fighting.¹ The Dane, tempted by avarice, proved unfaithful to his mission and a traitor to the allies of his country: to his great dishonour (say the chronicles), he complied with all that William required.²

William did not confine himself to this single precaution: having silently taken away from the free Saxons their principal support, he next turned to the Saxons of the subjugated country; he redressed the grievances of some, moderated the insolence of his soldiers and his agents,³ gained upon the weak minds of the majority by slender concessions, and, in return, exacted fresh oaths and fresh hostages.⁴ He then marched upon York, with all speed and with all his forces. The defenders of the town were apprised at one and the same time of the approach of the Norman cavalry, and the departure of the Danish fleet. Deserted as they were, and bereft of their best hopes, they still resisted, and were killed by thousands in the breaches of their walls.⁵ The combat was long, and the victory dearly bought. In this rout without shame, King Edgar fled; and such as could escape with him followed him into Scotland, where King Malcolm again received them with kindness, and opened an asylum to men of all conditions emigrating from the north of England.⁶

Once more master of York, the Norman did not stop there, but made his battalions continue their march rapidly towards the north. The foreigners rushed upon the territory of Northumbria with all the frenzy of revenge;⁷ they burned the crops in the fields as well as the towns and hamlets, and butchered the cattle as well as the men.⁸ This devastation was carried on studiously, and in some sort on a regular plan, in order that the brave men of the north, finding their country uninhabitable, might be obliged to abandon it and settle in

¹ Ut sine pugna discederet peracta hieme. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 636.

² Non sine magno dedecore. *Ibid.*

³ Compescens alationem suorum. *Math. Westmonast.*

⁴ Fœdere cautius cum omnibus confirmato. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Math. Westmonast. Flores. Hist.*

⁶ Omnes Anglos profugos libenter recipiebat. *Math. Paris.*, p. 4.

⁷ In Nordhymbriam efferato properavit animo. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 127.

⁸ Totius regionis urbes, viros, et agros, et oppida conteri, et fruges jussit igne consumi. *Math. Paris.*, p. 4.

other places. They retired, either into the mountains which still bore the name of the asylum which the ancient Britons had formerly found there, or to the extremity of the eastern coast, among the downs and impassable marshes. There they became robbers and pirates against the foreigner; and were accused, in the proclamations of the king of the conquest, of violating the public peace and morals, in seeking to prolong their lives by following an infamous profession.¹ The Normans entered Durham for the second time; and the night came, and the day after it, without their sleep being disturbed as Robert Comine's had been.

Before their entry into this town, which was the key to all the northern country, the Bishop of Durham, the same Egelwin who had given Robert those warnings by which he profited so little, had joined with the principal inhabitants, of the place, to fly (says an old English poet) whither they could be followed by neither Norman nor Burgundian, neither robber nor vagrant.² Carrying with them, according to the superstition of the age, the bones of that St. Cuthbert whose terrible power the Normans themselves believed they had experienced, they reached a place in the north, at the mouth of the Tweed, called Lindisfarn-ey, or vulgarly Holy Island, a sort of island peopled more with relics than with men, which twice a day, at the flow of the tide, was surrounded with water, and twice, when the tide fell, was joined to the mainland.³ The great church of Durham, abandoned and left without a guardian, became an asylum for the poor, sick, and wounded Saxons, who lay in it on the bare stones, exhausted with hunger and misery.⁴

The conquering army, whose divisions covered a space of a hundred miles, traversed this territory (which they were invading for the first time) in all directions, and the traces of their passage through it were deeply imprinted. The old historians relate that, from the Humber to the Tyne, not a piece of cultivated land, not a single inhabited village

¹ Cum adhuc in sua ærumna armis atque fuga auderent, in maritimorum præsidiorum remotiora se se receperunt, inhonestas opes pyratice latrocinioque sibi contrahentes. *Ex Guill. Gemetic. apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

² Sithed thei dread nothing of these ne of feloun that were with the kyng, Norman ne Burgoloun. *Robert Brunne's Chronicle*, p. 77.

³ Halig-ealand. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 129.

⁴ Spelunca erat pauperum, debilium, ægrotantium, qui illic declinantes fame ac morbo deficiebant. *Ibid.* p. 129.

remained.¹ The monasteries which had escaped the ravages of the Danish pagans, that of St. Peter near the Wear, and that of Whitby inhabited by women, were profaned and burned.² To the south of the Humber, according to the same narrators, the ravage was no less dreadful. They say, in their passionate language, that between York and the eastern sea, every living creature was put to death, from man to the beast,³ excepting only those who took refuge in the church of St. John the archbishop, at Beverley. This John was a saint of the English race; and, on the approach of the conquerors, a great number of men and women flocked, with all that they had most valuable, round the church dedicated to their blessed countryman, in order that, remembering in heaven that he was a Saxon, he might protect them and their property from the fury of the foreigner. The Norman camp was then seven miles from Beverley. It was rumoured that the church of St. John was the refuge of the rich and the depository of the riches of the country. Some adventurous scouts, who by the cotemporary history are denominated knights, set out under the command of one Toustain, in order to be the first to seize the prize.⁴ They entered Beverley without resistance; marched to the church-yard, where the terrified crowd were assembled; and passed its barriers, giving themselves no more concern about the Saxon saint than about the Saxons who invoked him. Toustain, the chief of the band, casting his eye over the groups of English, observed an old man richly clad, with gold bracelets in the fashion of his nation.⁵ He galloped towards him with his sword drawn, and the terrified old man fled to the church: Toustain pursued him; but he had scarcely passed the gates, when, his horse's feet slipping on the pavement, he was thrown off and stunned by the fall.⁶ At the sight of their captain half dead, the rest of the Normans turned round; and their imaginations being excited, hastened full of dread to the camp to relate this terrible example of the power of John of Beverley. When the army passed through, no one dared again to tempt the vengeance of the blessed saint; and,

¹ Nusquam villa inhabitata. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 129.

² *Jo. Brompton*, p. 966. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 271.

³ Ab homine usque ad pecus periit quicumque repertus est ab Eboraco usque ad mare orientale. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 129.

⁴ Quidam milites rapinis assueti. *Ibid.* p. 127.

⁵ Auream in brachio armillam ferentem. *Ibid.*

⁶ Infra valvas ecclesiæ insequitur pæne fugiendo extinctum, sed equus. *Ibid.*

if we may believe the legend, the territory of his church alone remained covered with habitations and produce, in the midst of the devastated country.¹

William, pursuing the remnant of the free Saxons, went as far as the great Roman wall, the remains of which are still to be seen extending from east to west, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth. He then returned to York; and sent to Winchester for the crown, the gilded staves, the furred robes, and all the other insignia of English royalty; these he displayed with great pomp before the feast of the nativity, as if to give the lie to those who, a few months before, had fought for King Edgar and their country.² There was no one now to repel this affront; for a last assemblage of the brave was dispersed on the banks of the Tyne.³ Such was the termination of the resistance in the north; such was the end of liberty, according to the English—of rebellion, according to the Normans.⁴ On both sides of the Humber, the cavalry of the foreign king, his counts, his bailiffs,⁵ and his couriers, thenceforward travelled unmolested on the roads and through the towns. Famine, like a faithful companion of the conquest, followed their footsteps. From the year 1067, it had been desolating some provinces, which alone had then been conquered; but in 1069 it extended itself through the whole of England⁶ and appeared in all its horror in the newly conquered territories. The inhabitants of the province of York and the country to the north, after feeding on the horses which the Norman army abandoned on the roads, devoured human flesh.⁷ More than a hundred thousand people, of all ages, died of want in these countries.⁸ "It was a frightful spectacle," says an old annalist, "to see on the roads, in the public places, and at the doors of the houses, human bodies a prey to the worms; for there was no one left to throw a little

¹ Nec terra aliqua erat culta, excepto solo territorio beati Joannis Beverlaci. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 966.

² Ex civitate Guenta jubet adferri coronam aliaque ornamenta regalia et vasa. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 515.

³ Hostile collegium in angulo quodam regionis paludibus undique munito. *Ibid.*

⁴ Seditionum tempestate parumper conquiescente. *Guill. Gemetic. apud Script. Rer. Franc.*, tom. xi. p. 630.

⁵ Ballivi. In the French of that time, *bails* or *baillifs*, the generic name for an officer or functionary.

⁶ Normannis Angliam vastantibus, per totam Angliam, maxime per Northumbriam, fames prævaluit. *Flor. Wig.*, p. 636.

⁷ Ut homines carnem comederent humanam. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 515.

earth over them.”¹ This distress of the conquered country was confined to the natives; for the foreign soldier lived there in plenty. For him there were in the fortresses vast heaps of corn and other provisions, which were also purchased for him abroad, with gold taken from the English. Moreover, the famine assisted him in completely taming the vanquished; and often, for the remnants of the meal of one of the meanest followers of the army, the Saxon, once illustrious among his countrymen, but now wasted and depressed by hunger, would come and sell himself and all his family to perpetual slavery.² Then was this shameful treaty inscribed on the blank pages of some old missal, where these monuments of the miseries of another age are to be found at this day, furnishing a theme for the sagacity of the man of learning and the curiosity of the man of leisure.

The territory situated on one side to the north and on the other to the south of the Humber, ravaged as it was, was divided among the conquerors with the same order which had regulated the partition of the lands in the south. Several lots were made of the houses, or rather the ruins of York; for in the two sieges which that town had suffered, it had been so devastated, that several centuries afterwards the foundations of the ancient suburbs were still to be seen at the distance of more than a mile in the open country.³ King William took to himself the greater part of the houses that were left standing.⁴ The Norman captains divided the rest among them, with the churches, the shops, and even the shambles, which they let for a certain rent.⁵ Guillaume de Garenne had eighteen villages in the province of York, and Guillaume de Percy upwards of eighty manors.⁶ Most of these domains, in the roll drawn up fifteen years afterwards, were simply denominated *waste-land*.⁷ The same quantity which, in Edward's time, had produced a rent of sixty pounds, produced less than five in the hands of

¹ Neque enim supererat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus extinctis vel gladio vel fame. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 451.

² Plures in servitutem se vendiderunt dummodo qualitercumque miserabilem vitam sustentarent. *Ibid.*

³ Constans fama est aliquot villas esse uno ab Eboraco milliario ubi ante tempora Willelmi Nothi termini erant suburbanarum ædium. *Lelandi Collectanea*, tom. iv. p. 36.

⁴ *Extracta ex Doomesday-book*, apud *Script. ed.* à Gale, p. 774.

⁵ Comes de Moritonio habet ibi XIV mansiones et XI bancos in macello et ecclesiam Sancti Crucis. *Doomesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 298.

⁶ *Ancient Tenures of Land*, p. 6.

⁷ Omnia ne *wasta*. *Doomesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 309. Modo omnino sunt *wasta*. *Ibid.* Ex maxima parte *wasta*. *Ibid.*

the foreign chief or soldier. The land on which two free Englishmen had lived in plenty, maintained, after the conquest, only two poor toiling slaves, who scarcely returned to their Norman lord a tenth part of the revenue of the ancient free cultivators.¹

The large tracts of country north of York fell to the share of Allan, a Bas-Breton, whom the Normans called Alain, and whom his fellow-countrymen, in their Celtic tongue, surnamed Fergan, or *the red-haired*.² This Alain built a castle and out-works near his principal manor, called Gilling, on a hill, encompassed almost on all sides by the rapid river Swale. This fortress (says an old account) was designed to protect him and his men against the terrible incursions of the disinherited English.³ Like most of the other captains of the conquering army, he baptized the castle which became his residence with a French name, calling it Riche-mont, on account of its elevated situation, from which it commanded the surrounding country.⁴

The whole island formed at the easternmost point of Yorkshire by the ocean and the rivers was given to Dreux Bruère, a captain of Flemish auxiliaries. This man married a relative of King William's, and killed her in a fit of anger: but before the report of her death had spread, he went to the king, and begged that he would give him money in exchange for his lands, as he wished to return into Flanders. William ordered the sum which the Fleming asked for to be paid him; and it was not until after his departure, that the cause of it was divulged.⁵ His island then became the property of Eudes de Champagne, who afterwards married the conqueror's sister by the mother's side.⁶ When the wife of Eudes had been brought to bed of a son, he remarked to the king that the Isle of Holderness was not fertile, producing nothing but oats; and begged that he would grant him a portion of land capable of bearing wheat, wherewith the child might be fed.⁷ William

¹ Duo taini tenuere; ibi sunt duo villani cum una carruca; valuit 40 sol. modo 4 sol. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 315.

² Dictum Rufum vel Fergaunt. *Ex veteri charta apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xii. p. 568.

³ Pro tuitione suorum contra infestationem Anglorum tunc ubique exhæredatorum. *Ibid.*

⁴ Et nominavit dictum castrum *Riche-mont*, suo idiomate Gallico, quod Latine sonat Divitem Montem. *Ibid. et Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 877.

⁵ *Dugdale's Baronage*, p. 60. *Monast. Anglican.*

⁶ Nec gignebat nisi avenam. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 796.

⁷ Unde alere posset nepotem suum. *Ibid.*

(say the old acts) gave him the entire town of Bytham, in the province of Lincoln.

Not far from this same Isle of Holderness, on the banks of the Humber, Gamel son of Quetet, who had come from Meaux in France with a troop of men from the same town, took a certain extent of land where he fixed his abode and that of his companions.¹ These men, wishing to attach the remembrance of their native city to the place of their new habitation, gave it the name of France, which continued for several centuries to be that of a monastery founded on the same spot.² Gamel, the chief of the adventurers of Meaux, and the possessor of the principal manor in their little colony, came to an understanding with the Norman chiefs occupying the neighbouring lands, that the limits of their respective possessions should be invariably fixed. Several conferences, or *parlemens* (as they were then termed), were held with Basin, Sivard, and Francon and Richard d'Estouteville. They all, with one accord, measured their several portions of land, and set bounds to them, "in order," says the old account, "that their posterity might have nothing to dispute about, but that the peace which reigned among them might be transmitted to their heirs."³

The great domain of Pontefract, the place where the Norman troops had forded the Aire, fell to the share of Guilbert de Lacy, who, following the example of most of his companions, built a castle upon it.⁴ It appears that this Guilbert, with his armed bands, was the first who crossed the mountains west of York; and that he invaded the country about Lancaster, which then was part of the province of Chester. It is, however, certain that he appropriated to himself an immense tract of land in that country, of which Blackburn was the chief place, and which extended to the south and east as far as the confines of Yorkshire: according to an old tradition, he expelled all the English proprietors from Blackburn, Rochdale, Tollington, and the whole neighbourhood. Before the conquest (said the tradition) all these proprietors were free, equal in rights, and independent of one

¹ Qui in conquæstu Normannorum de quadam civitate Galliæ, *Meldis* Latine, sed *Meaux* Gallice nuncupata exeuntes. *Monast. Anglican.*, tom. i. p. 792.

² Post dictum conquæstum, ipsum locum inhabitantes nomen de Meaux ei imposuerunt in memoriam pristinæ civitatis. *Ibid.*

³ Ex communi consilio terminos inter se distinguentes, ad auferenda certamina posterorum. *Ibid.* p. 394.

⁴ *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 859.

another ; but after the invasion by the Normans, there was in the whole country but one master, with a number of farmers on lease.¹

William, with his chosen troops, had advanced as far as Hexham, near the wall of Severus. His captains penetrated further, and conquered the rest of the country to the north and west. The mountainous country of Cumberland was reduced into a Norman county. It was taken possession of by one Renouf Meschines ; and the land of heaths and marshes, called Westmoreland, was likewise put under the authority of a foreign governor.² This count shared the rich domains and fine women of the country among his followers. He gave the three daughters of Simon son of Thour, proprietor of the two manors of Elreton and Tadewiks, one to Humphrey his man-at-arms, another to Raoul called Tortes-mains, and the third to an esquire, Guillaume de St. Paul.³ In Northumbria, properly so called, Ives de Vesey took the town of Alnwick, with the grand-daughter and the whole inheritance of a Saxon killed in battle.⁴ Robert de Brus obtained by conquest (say the old acts) several hundred manors and the dues of the port of Hartlepool in the province of Durham.⁵ And, to cite one last instance of these territorial usurpations, Robert d'Umfreville had the forest of Riddesdale, which belonged to Mildred son of Akman. In token of investiture with this domain, he received from the conquering king the sword which he had himself worn on his entrance into Northumbria ; and swore to use it in clearing the territory of wolves and enemies to the Normans.⁶

When the Northumbrians, after driving away Tostig the brother of Harold, in a national insurrection, had chosen as their chief Morkar the brother of Edwin, Morkar had, with their consent, placed at the head of the country beyond the Tees young Osulf son of Edulf.⁷ Osulf kept his command until the conqueror had passed the Tyne. He was then

¹ *Vulgaris opinio tenet et asserit quod quot fuerunt villæ vel mansæ seu maneria hominum, tot fuerunt domini, quorum nullus de alio tenebat . . . post conquestum autem in unum dominium omnia sunt redacta. Monast. Anglic., tom. i. p. 859.*

² *Ibid.* p. 140.

³ *Data et disponsatæ . . . et cum eis in hæreditate totum manerium de Elreton . . . tradidit filiam ejusdam. Ibid.* p. 838.

⁴ *Qui fuit occisus in bello cum Haroldo rege. Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 592.

⁵ *Per conquestum. Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 148. . . . apud Hartlepool portum maris et de qualibet navi 8 den. *Ancient Tenures*, p. 146.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 15.

⁷ *Monast. Anglic., tom. i. p. 41.*

obliged to fly, like the rest, to the forests and mountains: and the victor put in his place a Saxon named Copsig; a man whom the people of Northumbria had driven away with Tostig; who therefore sought to revenge himself on the Northumbrians; and whom, for that very reason, the Norman gave them for a chief.¹ Copsig installed himself in his post, under the protection of the conquerors; but after exercising his power for a short time in a false security, he was assailed in his house by a troop of dispossessed English, led by that very Osulf whose spoils he had received. The servant of the foreigner was taking his repast without any apprehension, when the insurgents fell upon him, slew him, and immediately dispersed.²

These instances of vengeance and daring, of which only a few are cited by the historians, would probably occur in many places; but, however numerous they might be, they could not save England. An immense force, regularly conducted, and regularly distributed, made a jest of the virtuous but impotent efforts of the martyrs to independence. The brave themselves, those great chiefs of the country whose names alone rallied many around them, lost courage, and compromised with the foreigner. Thus did Waltheof, thus did Gospatric, thus did Morkar and Edwin. They stooped to fortune; and, casting aside the sword of liberty, made peace with the conquerors. This reconciliation, so fatal to the Saxon cause, took place on the banks of the Tees. William pitched his camp for fifteen days on that river, and there received the oaths of Gospatric and Waltheof. Gospatric, who was absent and submitted by message, received by message the government of Northumbria, vacant by the death of Copsig, together with the foreign title of count.³ Waltheof placed his bare hand in the hand of the Norman, and became count of the two provinces of Huntingdon and Northampton.⁴ He married Judith, one of his new friend's nieces; but, as will be seen in the course of this history, the bed of the foreign woman proved harder to the Saxon chief than the bare stones on which he feared he should lie by remaining faithful to his country. Soon after,

¹ Rex Willelmus comitatum Osulfi tradidit Copsio qui sub Tostio totius comitatus curam gerebat.

² Convivantem concludit . . . manibus Osulfi obtruncatur. *Simeo Dunelmensis*, p. 38. *Script. ed. à Seldeno.*

³ *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 41.

⁴ Datis dexteris. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 515. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 104. *Chron. Saxon. Frag.*

King Edgar himself came to abjure a second time his national title and the rights which he had received from the people.¹ He was a man endowed with but little strength of mind, and borne along, whether to good or evil, by the torrent of circumstances and the example of others. His fidelity to the Norman king was no greater than it had been to England: when the wind of resistance blew afresh, Edgar again fled into Scotland, followed by the imprecations of the foreigners, who accused him of violating his faith.² The English people, indulgent in their misery, pardoned him his inconstancy, and, though deserted by him, loved him still. "He was young and handsome," say the Saxon annals, "and was descended from the true race, the best race of the country."³

After the conquest of the lands of the north, that of the provinces of the north-west, bordering on the Welsh territories, appears soon to have been accomplished. Edric, surnamed the Wild, no longer stopped the Norman bands which overran every part of them, and had ceased to molest by his incursions their hitherto precarious establishments in the vicinity of the old entrenchment of Offa. At length Raoul de Mortemer took the young partisan-chief prisoner; and, with the advice of his council of war, stripped him of all his possessions, for having (says an ancient account) refused obedience to the conquest, though repeatedly summoned to obey.⁴

The Norman army which brought under the yoke the population of the Welsh marshes, did not stop at Offa's trench; but, passing that ancient frontier to the east of Shrewsbury, penetrated into the land of the Cambrians. Thus was commenced the conquest of Wales, which from that time was unremittingly pursued by the conquerors of England.⁵ One Baudoin was the first who built a Norman fort in that country: the Welsh named it Baldwin's Fort—*Tre Faldwin*; and the Normans called it Mont-Gomery, from the name of Baudoin's successor, Roger de Montgomery, count of the province of Shrop and the country taken from the Welsh.⁶

¹ Et misericordiam postulans impetravit et pacem cum eo fecit. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

² Facto ad Scotos transfugio, jusjurandum maculavit. *Ibid.*

³ Thæt beste kund thæt Engeland hadde to be kynge. *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, p. 377.

⁴ Et quia idem Edricus noluit conquæstui parere. . . . *Monast. Anglican.*, tom. ii. p. 221.

⁵ Postquam Normanni bello commisso Anglos sibi subjugarent, Walloniam suo imperio. . . . *Gesta Stephani Regis*, p. 93a.

⁶ *Pennant's Tour in Wales*, tom. ii. p. 348.

The town of Shrewsbury, fortified by a citadel built on the ground formerly occupied by fifty-one houses, was added to the domains of King William,¹ who levied imposts on it for his *exchequer* (as the Normans called that, which by the Romans was named the *fisc*²). The agents of the conqueror exacted no greater tributes than the town had paid in the time of English independence; but there is an authentic declaration of the inhabitants which shows the real value to them of this apparent moderation. "The English inhabitants of Shrewsbury" (such are the words of the roll), "say that it is a heavy burthen for them to pay the full amount of the impost which they paid in King Edward's time, and to be taxed for as many houses as were then existing: for fifty-one houses have been pulled down to make room for the count's castle; fifty more are so much damaged as to be uninhabitable; forty-three Frenchmen occupy houses which paid in Edward's time; and moreover, the count has given to the abbey, which he has founded, thirty-nine of the townsmen, who formerly contributed with the rest."³

These monasteries, founded by the conquerors in the heart of the towns or in the country, were peopled with monks come from abroad with the Norman baggage. Each fresh band of armed soldiers was escorted by a fresh band of frocked soldiers who, like the others, come to England to *gaaingner*, as it was then expressed. In 1068, the Abbot of St. Regnier at Ponthieu, embarking for England at the port of Wissant, met with upwards of a hundred monks and abbots of all orders, with a crowd of warriors and traders, who were all waiting, like himself, to pass the strait.⁴ Some naked and famishing Benedictines came from Séez in Normandy to an extensive habitation given them by Roger de Montgomery; and received, for the supply of their table, a tenth of all the venison taken in the province of Shrop.⁵ Some monks of St. Florent at Saumur emigrated from

¹ *Quamvis castellum comitis occupaverit 51 mansuras. Extracta ex Doomesday-book, apud Script. Gale, p. 773.*

² This name is taken from that of a table divided into squares and compartments to facilitate the counting of money.

³ *Dicunt Angligenæ burgenses de Sciropesberie, multum grave sibi esse . . . et XLIII Francigenæ burgenses teneant mansuras geldantes T. A. E. et abbatæ quam facit ibi comes dederit ipse XXXIX burgenses, olim cum aliis geldantes similiter. Extracta ex Doomesday-book, apud Script. Gale, p. 773.*

⁴ *Ubi fuerunt cum illo tam abbates quam monachi plusquam centum, præterea militarum virorum et negociatorum plurima multitudo, qui omnes in Angliam transvehi cupiebant. Ex Chronico Sti. Richarii, apud Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xi. p. 133.*

⁵ *Pennant's Tour in Wales, tom. ii. p. 402.*

their convent to take up their abode in a church which, by right of conquest, had fallen to the share of Guillaume de Brause, an Anjouan.¹ And to conclude—in the province of Stafford, near Stone on the Trent, there was a small oratory, where two nuns and a priest passed their days in praying in honour of a Saxon saint called Wolfed. All three were killed by one Enisant, a soldier of the conquering army, “which Enisant,” says the legend, “killed the priest and the two nuns, that his sister, whom he had brought with him, might have their church.”²

From the time that the conquest began to prosper, not young soldiers and old warlike chiefs alone, but whole families, men, women, and children, emigrated from Gaul to seek their fortunes in the country of the English. To the people on the other side of the Channel, this country was like a land newly discovered, which they went to colonise. “Hoël the Breton,” says an old record, “and his wife Celestine, came to the army of the Norman bastard, and received a gift from this same bastard of the manor of Elinghall, with all its dependencies.”³ One Guillaume (says another old record in rhyme) came into England with his wife Tifanie, his maid Manfas, and his dog Hardigras.⁴ Men, who adventured together in the chances of the invasion,⁵ became sworn brothers in arms and contracted fellowships in gain and loss, for life and death. Robert d’Oily and Roger d’Ivry came to the conquest as brethren leagued together by faith and by oath.⁶ Their clothes and their arms were alike, and they shared together the lands which they conquered. Eude and Picot, Robert Marmion and Gaultier de Somerville did the same.⁷ Jean de Courcy and Amaury de St. Florent swore their fraternity of arms in the church of Notre Dame at Rouen: they vowed to

¹ *Monast. Anglic.*

² This Enysan slue the nuns and prest alsoe, because his sister should have this churche soe. *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 126.

³ Quidam Hoël nomine et Celestria uxor ejus venerunt in exercitu Willelmi Bastard in Angliam. *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 54.

⁴
William de Cognisby
Came out of Britanny
With his wife Tiffany
And his maid Manfas
And his dogge Hardigras.

Hearne, Præfatio ad Forduni Hist., p. 170.

⁵ Fortunarum participes. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 136.

⁶ Fratres jurati et per fidem et sacramentum confæderati venerunt ad conquestum Angliæ. *Ibid.* *Gloss. de Ducange*, tom. iii. p. 688.

⁷ Monsieur Galtere of Somerville, sworn brodyr. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 199.

serve together, to live and die together, and to share together their pay and whatever they might gain by the sword.¹ Others, at the moment of their departure, disposed of all that they possessed on that side the channel, that they might be the more determined to make themselves a new and more brilliant fortune. Thus it was that Geoffroy de Chaumont, son of Gidoïn Viscount of Blois, gave to his niece Denise all the lands which he possessed in the country of Blois, at Chaumont and Tours. "He departed for the conquest," says the historian, "and afterwards returned to Chaumont with an immense treasure, large sums of money, a great number of articles of rarity, and the titles of possession of more than one great and rich domain."²

There now remained to be invaded only the country about Chester, the only great town in England whose streets had not resounded with the tread of the foreign cavalry. After passing the winter in the north, William undertook this last expedition in person;³ but, at the moment of his departure from York, great murmurs arose in the conquering army. The reaction in Northumbria had fatigued the victors; and they foresaw still greater fatigues in the invasion of the country bordering on the river Dee and the western sea. Exaggerated accounts of the difficulty of the ground and the obstinacy of the inhabitants were circulated among the soldiers.⁴ The auxiliary Anjouans and Bretons began to feel, like the Normans in the preceding year, a longing after home. They in their turn complained more loudly than the rest of the hardships of the service; and great numbers of them asked for their discharge, that they might repass the sea.⁵ It seems that William, unable to overcome the determination of those who refused to follow him, assumed an appearance of unconcern. To such as would remain faithful, he promised repose after the victory, and great possessions as the recompense of their toils.⁶ He crossed, by roads until then impracticable for horses, the chain of mountains extending, from south to north, the whole length of England. He entered

¹ Vi gladii et fortuna. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 199.

² Qui ducem adire deliberans, totum nepoti suæ reliquit. . . . Auri et argenti copias multas, terræque possessiones amplissimas. *Gesta Ambasiensium Dominorum, apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xi. p. 258.

³ Movet expeditionem contra Cestrenses et Geralos. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 515.

⁴ Locorum asperitatem et hostium terribilem ferocitatem. *Ibid.*

⁵ Servitiis, ut dicebant, intolerabilibus. *Ibid.*

⁶ Victoribus requiem promittit. *Ibid.* p. 515.

Chester victorious, and the Norman standard was planted on both shores of the ocean. The conqueror, according to his custom, built a fortress at Chester; he stayed for some time at Stafford;¹ and at Salisbury, in his return to the south, he distributed abundant rewards among his followers.² He then repaired to Winchester, to his royal citadel, the strongest in all England; and which was his palace in spring, as that of Gloucester was in winter, and the Tower of London or the Convent of Westminster near London in summer.³

The troops of Gherbaud the Fleming were left to keep and defend the newly conquered province. Gherbaud was the first captain that bore the title of Count of Chester. To support his title and maintain his post, he was exposed to great dangers from the English as well as from the men of Wales, who long continued to harass him: at length he became weary of these fatigues, and departed to return to Flanders.⁴ The Norman king then gave the county of Chester to Hugues d'Avranches, son of Richard le Gois, who was surnamed Le-Loup, and bore a wolf's head on his escutcheon. Hugues-le-Loup and his captains passed the Dee, which formed, at the extremity of Offa's dike, the northern limit of the Welsh territory. They conquered the country of Flint, which became a part of the Norman county of Chester, and built a fort at Rhuddlan.⁵ One of Hugues-le-Loup's lieutenants, who was governor of this fort, changed his name from Robert d'Avranches to Robert de Rhuddlan; and, by a contrary whim, Robert de Malpas or Maupas, governor of another fort, built on a lofty hill, gave his own name to the place, which has borne it to this day. "Both of them," says an ancient historian, "with other ferocious chiefs, poured the blood of the Welsh like water."⁶ They fought a murderous battle with them in the marshes of Rhuddlan, a spot already marked with calamity in the memory of the Cambrian people, on account of a great battle won by the Saxons about the close of the eighth century. A singular monument of these

¹ *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 516.

² *Præmia militibus largissime distribuit. Ibid.*

³ *Ter gessit suam coronam (cynehelm) singulis annis, ad pascha eam gessit in Winceaster, ad Pentecosten in Westminster, ad natales in Gleaweceaster. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 190.

⁴ *Magna ibi difficilia tam ab Anglis quam a Guallis adversantibus pertulerat. Orderic. Vital.*, p. 522.

⁵ *Pennant's Tour in Wales*, vol. ii. p. 10.

⁶ *Cum Roberto de Malo-passu et aliis proceribus feris multum Guallorum sanguinem effudit. Orderic. Vital.*, p. 522.

two national disasters was still existing a few years ago in the north of Wales: this was a mournful air, without words, but which it was customary to apply to many melancholy subjects; it was called the air of Rhuddlan-marsh.¹

We are told by old accounts that when Hugues-le-Loup had installed himself with the title of count in the province of Chester, he called over from Normandy one of his old friends, named Nigel or Lenoir; and that Lenoir brought with him five brothers, Houdard, Edouard, Volmar, Horswin, and Volfan.² Hugues distributed among them lands in his county. He gave to Lenoir the town of Halton near the river Mersey; and made him his constable and hereditary marshal—that is, wherever the Count of Chester was at war, Lenoir and his heirs were to march at the head of the whole army in going out, and to be the last in returning. They had, as their share of the booty taken from the Welsh, the beasts of all descriptions.³ In time of peace, they had the right of administering justice for all offences within the district of Halton, and made their profit of the fines. Their servants enjoyed the privilege of buying in the market at Chester before any one else, unless the count's servants had presented themselves first.⁴ Besides these prerogatives, the constable Lenoir obtained for himself and his heirs the control of the roads and streets during the fairs at Chester, the tolls of all the markets within the limits of Halton, all animals found astray in the same district,⁵ and lastly, the right of stallage, and of selling, with an entire freedom from tax and toll, every sort of merchandise excepting salt and horses.⁶

Houdard, the first of the five brothers, became to Lenoir nearly what Lenoir was to Count Hugues; he was hereditary seneschal of the constabulary of Halton. Lenoir, his lord, gave him for his service and homage (such was the formula of the time⁷) the lands of Weston and Ashton. Of the profits of the war, he had all the bulls taken from the Welsh;⁸ and

¹ Morfa-Rhuddlan. *Cambro-Briton*, vol. ii.

² Et cum isto comite Hugone venit quidam miles, Nigellus nomine, qui duxit secum quinque fratres. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 905.

³ De præda perquisita in Wallia omnia animalia diversorum colonum inter quatuor membra. *Ibid.*

⁴ Emant ministri sui ante omnes in cavitate, nisi comitis ministri prævenerint. *Ibid.*

⁵ Omnia animalia fugitiva, gallice *Wages*. *Ibid.* p. 187.

⁶ Præter sal et æquos. *Ibid.*

⁷ Per hommagis et servitio suo. *Ibid.*

⁸ Adventagia guerræ. *Gloss. de Ducange*.

the best ox, as a recompense for the man-at-arms who carried his banner.¹ Edouard, the second brother, received from the constable two bovatas of land at Weston.² Two others, Volmar and Horswin, jointly received a domain in the village of Runcone. And the fifth, named Volfan, who was a priest, obtained the church of Runcone.³

These curious details are, in themselves, scarcely worthy of notice; but they may assist the reader to picture in his imagination the various scenes of the conquest, and give to the facts of greatest importance their local colouring. All the arrangements of interest, all the sharing of possessions and offices, which took place in the province of Chester, between the Norman governor, his first lieutenant, and the lieutenant's five companions, give a true and faithful idea of the transactions of the same kind and at the same time in every province of England. When the reader shall hereafter meet with the titles of count, constable, and seneschal—when, in the course of this history he finds any mention of the rights of jurisdiction, of markets, or of tolls, of the profits of war and of justice—let him immediately call to mind Hugues d'Avranches, his friend Lenoir, and the five brothers who came with Lenoir: then, perhaps, he will perceive some reality under these titles and formulas, which, if examined apart from men and transactions, have no meaning whatever. The eyes of our imagination must endeavour to reach men through the distance of ages, and represent them to us living and acting on that soil where even the dust of their crumbled relics is no longer to be found. Many particular facts, many names now obscure, have been designedly placed in this recital: let the reader dwell upon them; let him imagine old England once more peopled with its invaders and its vanquished of the eleventh century; let him figure to himself the former proud and fortunate, the latter invoking death as more tolerable than slavery.⁴ Seven hundred years have already passed away since these men ceased to breathe, since their hearts ceased to beat, with pride or with suffering:—but what is this to the imagination, which knows no past, and to which even the future is present?

¹ Et latori vexilli sui meliorem bovem. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 187.

² Duas bovatas terræ in Weston. *Ibid.*

³ Quintus vero frater fuit sacerdos, et ipsi dedit ecclesiam de Runcone Nigellus: ex Normannia venerunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Potius mori quam vivere optabant. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 522.

BOOK V

CAMP OF ELY TO THE EXECUTION OF WALTHEOF

THE whole country of the Anglo-Saxons was now conquered, from the Tweed to the Land's End, and from the sea of Gaul to the Severn; and the English population was harassed in every direction by their conquerors. There were no longer any free provinces, any masses of men armed and united: there were scarcely any but scattered individuals, chiefs without soldiers, and soldiers without chiefs, fugitive and discouraged; and against them the war was continued by individual persecution. The most considerable among them were solemnly judged and condemned; the rest were placed at the discretion of the foreign soldiers, who made them grooms for their horses or labourers for their lands.¹ An ancient historian tells us that he forbears detailing all which the Normans were allowed to do to the common people, lest he should appear to be relating a fable, and also to guard against the danger which was incurred by speaking freely of these things in the first ages of the conquest.² Such of the vanquished as had any means left of expatriating themselves repaired westward, to the ports of Wales, where they embarked, and went (as the old annals express it) to range through foreign kingdoms in grief and wretchedness, begging bread for themselves and succour for their country.³ A troop of these fugitives, under the conduct of Siward, one of the ancient chiefs of the country of Gloucester, steered their course southward, coasted Spain, and went to Sicily, to offer their services to the Greek emperor Alexis.⁴ Alexis enrolled the Saxons in a body of German troops, who had long been in the pay of the empire under the name of *Wærings*, or under a Greek name signifying

¹ Nobiles morti destinavit, mediocres autem militibus suis in servitutem. *Ex Chronico Sax. Sti. Germani, apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xii. p. 216.

² Cum id dictu sciamus difficile, et ob nimiam crudelitatem fortassis incredibile. *Historia Eliensis*, pp. 5, 6.

³ Per extera regna vagi, dolentes. . . . *Forduni Hist.*, p. 698.

⁴ *Torfæi Hist. Norweg.*, tom. ii. p. 387.

axe-bearers.¹ They retained the arms and language of their country; and received lands in Ionia, where a town was built for them.² By a singular fate, these men, who had emigrated from their native land on account of an invasion by Gallo-Normans, fought under the banners of their new host against other Gallo-Normans who were invading Apulia;³ and at the battle of Durazzo, which was lost by Robert Guiscard or Guichard, an adventurer and conqueror like William, the exiles from England formed the front rank of the Greek imperial army.

Other chiefs and rich men, who could not or would not cross the sea, retired into the forests, with their clients and families.⁴ The great roads, along which the Norman convoys passed, were infested by their armed bands, and they took back from the conquerors by stratagem what the conquerors had taken by force; thus recovering the ransom of their inheritances, and avenging by assassination the massacre of their fellow-countrymen.⁵ These refugees were called robbers by the historians friendly to the conquest,⁶ who speak of them in their accounts as we do of men wilfully and wickedly armed against a lawful order of society. "Each day," say they, "was committed a number of thefts and murders, caused by the natural villainy of the people and the immense wealth of this kingdom."⁷ But was not the wealth of the kingdom the wealth of the Saxons? and if the natives became robbers, was it for any other purpose than to recover their own property? The order, which they rose up against, was the violent order of the conquest; the law beyond which they placed themselves was the law of the foreigner; and thus the Saxon word *outlaw*,⁸ synonymous with *banished man*, and by extension with *robber*, thenceforward lost its disgraceful sense in the ears of the subjugated people. When any old popular story or Saxon legend makes mention of one of these men laid under the ban of the

¹ Πελεχυφόρος, *Wæring*, signifies *man-at-arms*. The Greeks wrote *Baxaggos*. *Histor. Bizantin.*, tom. xi. p. 53.

² *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 508.

³ *Normannis legionibus quæ Pelasgis adversabantur oppositi sunt.* *Ibid.*

⁴ *Cum familia sua ad sylvas fugientibus.* *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat. St. Albani*, p. 29.

⁵ *Pro amissis patrum suorum prædis et occisis compatriotis.* *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 512.

⁶ *Latrones, latrunculi.*

⁷ *Propter immensas regni hujus divitias, et propter innatam indigenis crapulam.* *Lelandi Collectanea*, p. 42.

⁸ Or *Ut-lage*. In Latin, *utlagus*.

conquest, it is almost always observable that the narrator takes pleasure in giving a sort of poetical character to the person of the outlaw and to his wandering life—that life of liberty under the green leaves of the forest (as some old English verses express it).¹ The outlawed individual nearly always appears to be as much cherished by the oppressed as he is dreaded by the oppressors; he is as gay as he is brave;² he is called the king of the forest, and fears not the king of the country.³

The north country especially, which had most obstinately resisted the invaders, became the land of vagrancy in arms, the last protection of the vanquished.⁴ The forests in the province of York were the haunt of a numerous band who had for their chief a *prince* (as the original history expresses it)—a man named Swan, son of Sigg.⁵ In the central parts, and near London, under the walls of the Norman castles, various bands were also formed of these men, who (say the old writers), rejecting slavery to the last, made the desert their asylum.⁶ Their encounters with the conquerors were always sanguinary. When they appeared in an inhabited place, it was a pretext for the foreigner to redouble his oppressions; he punished the unarmed men for the mischief done to him by those in arms; and these again, in their turn, sometimes made terrible visits to those whom the vulgar opinion marked out as friends of the Normans. Thus a perpetual terror reigned throughout the country: for to the danger of falling by the sword of the foreigner, who considered himself as a demigod among brutes, and understood neither the prayers, nor the arguments, nor the excuses preferred in the language of the conquered people, was added that of being regarded as treacherous or suspicious by the independent Saxons, frantic with despair as the Normans were with pride.⁷ Thus no Englishman would venture even into the neighbourhood of his own dwelling; but every house was shut up and fortified like a town threatened with siege.⁸ It

¹ . . . mery and free
under the leaves soe green.

Ancient ballad of Robin Hood.

² More mery a man than I am on
was not in Cristante.—*Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, passim.

⁴ *Monast. Angl.*, tom. i. p. 381.

⁵ Quidam principes latronum. *Hist. Monasterii Selebeiensis, apud Biblioth. Labbæi*, p. 603.

⁶ *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 29.

⁷ Vecordes e superbis efficiebantur. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 522.

⁸ Domus cujuslibet pacifici quasi municipium obsidendum. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 29.

was filled with arms of every kind—bows and arrows, pikes, axes, clubs, pitchforks, and daggers; and the doors were bolted and barricaded. When the hour of rest arrived, at the time of making all fast, the head of the family repeated aloud the prayers used at sea on the approach of a storm, and said, “the Lord bless and help us”; to which all present answered “Amen.”¹ This custom existed in England for more than two centuries after the conquest.²

In the northern part of the county of Cambridge there is a great extent of low marshy land, intersected by rivers: all the streams from the centre of England, which do not fall into the valley of the Thames, or that of the Trent, find their way into these swamps; in winter they overflow their banks, cover a large portion of the country, and are loaded with vapours and fogs. One part of this damp and miry region was, and is still, called the Isle of Ely, another the Isle of Thorney, and a third the Isle of Croyland.³ The marshes, beginning a few miles from Cambridge, extended on the north-east to the mouths of the Ouse and Glen, over part of the three counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Lincoln. In these tracts, inaccessible to the cavalry and heavy armed foot which composed the strength of the Normans, bands of Saxons assembled, organised themselves, and formed a camp of refuge.⁴ Many chiefs, deprived of their inheritances, successively repaired thither with their adherents;⁵ some going by land, others in boats up the mouths of the rivers. The foreigners dared not set foot upon the treacherous soil on which they were encamped; so that they had time to send messages to various places both in and out of the country, conveying intelligence to the friends of old England. When they had become sufficiently strong, they commenced a partisan-warfare by land and sea, or, as the Normans called it, piracy and robbery.⁶

Every day, however, brought to the camp of these robbers and pirates in a good cause some Saxon of high rank, layman or priest, with the remnant of his fortune, or the contributions of his church. Among many others came Egelric, Bishop of

¹ Preces quasi imminente in mari tempestate. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 29.

² Quæ consuetudo usque ad nostra tempora perduravit. *Ibid.*

³ Crulandia—cruda et cænosa terra. *Ord. Vit.*, p. 54.

⁴ Castra refugii facientes. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 256.

⁵ Cum aliis magnotibus exhæredatis. *Ingulf.*, p. 702.

⁶ Piratæ maris et latrones regionis. *Monast. Ang.*, tom. i. p. 981.

Lindisfarn, and Sithric, the head of a rich convent in Devonshire. The conquerors, and the friends of the conquerors, accused them of outraging religion and dishonouring the holy church, by attaching themselves to an infamous calling;¹ but the cry raised through interested scruples had no power to terrify them. The sight of the insurgent prelates was an encouragement to many; and their ascendancy over the minds of men, in good and in evil, was favourable to the cause of the vanquished. The ecclesiastics, who until then had shown but little ardour in this cause, united themselves with it more frankly: many of them, it is true, had devoted themselves to it from the first; but the great mass had bowed under the yoke. They had suffered less from the conquest than the rest of the nation: their lands had not all been seized; their houses had not been everywhere violated. In the great halls of the monasteries, where the Norman spies had not yet penetrated, the Saxons, assembled as for acts of religion, conversed and conspired with freedom. There they deposited the gold which they had saved from the possession of the conquerors, leaving it in reserve for the exigencies of the common cause, and the maintenance of the children of such as fell in battle. Sometimes the old chief of a convent would break up the plates of gold, and remove the jewels, with which ancient kings had decorated the altars and shrines, conscious that he did not the less fulfil their latest wishes, in disposing of their gifts for that country which they had loved in their lives. Brave and faithful messengers were employed to convey the products of these common contributions through the Norman posts to the camp of the refugees; but these patriotic transactions could not long remain secret.

In the month of April, 1069 (O.S.), King William, by the advice of William son of Osbert, his favourite, ordered perquisitions to be made in all the convents of England.² The money which the rich English³ had deposited in them was seized by his order, as were most of the precious vessels and shrines;⁴ the scrolls, on which were inscribed the false promises made by the Norman to the vanquished, were at the same time taken away from the churches, where they had

¹ Piraticam adorsus. *Will. Malm.*, p. 277.

² Monasteria totius Angliæ perscrutari fecit. *Math. West.*, p. 226.

³ Ditiores Angli. *Hist. Eliensis*, p. 516.

⁴ Calicibus et feretris uso pepercit. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 257.

been placed for security.¹ This great spoliation took place in the Lent which terminated the year 1069; and in Easter-week (1070) there arrived in England, pursuant to William's request,² three legates from the apostolic see, viz. Ermenfeni, Bishop of Sienna, and the cardinals John and Peter. The Norman founded his great designs on the presence of these envoys from his ally the pope; and kept them about him for a whole year, honouring them (says an old historian) as if they had been angels from God.³ In the midst of the famine, which in many places was destroying the Saxons by thousands,⁴ brilliant festivals were celebrated in the fortified palace of Winchester; there the Roman priests, placing the crown afresh on the head of the foreign king,⁵ effaced the vain malediction which Eldred, Archbishop of York had pronounced against him.

After the festivals, a great assembly of the Normans, laymen or priests, enriched by the lands of the English, was held at Winchester. At this assembly the Saxons were summoned to appear, in the name (of the authority) of the Roman church, by circulars, the style of which might forewarn them of the result of this great council (as it was called) to themselves. "Although the church of Rome," said the envoys, "has a right to watch the conduct of all Christians, it more especially belongs to her to inquire into your morals and way of life⁶—you whom she formerly instructed in the faith of Christ—and to repair in you the decay of that faith which you hold from her. In order to exercise over your persons this salutary inspection, we, ministers of blessed Peter the apostle,⁷ and authorised representatives of our lord, Pope Alexander, have resolved to hold a council with you, that we may inform ourselves of the bad things which have sprung up in the vineyard of the Lord, and may plant in it things profitable both for the body and for the soul."⁸

The true sense of these mystical words was, that the conqueror, in accordance with the pope, wished to strip the whole

¹ Cum chartis in quarum libertatibus Angli confidebant. *Math. West.*, p. 226.

² Literis regiis accersiti. *Walt. Hemingf.*, p. 458.

³ Tanquam angelos Dei. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 516.

⁴ Erat magna fames. *Edw. Lye.*

⁵ Ei coronam imposuerunt. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 516.

⁶ Conversationis vestrae mores convenit inquirere. *Wilkins' Con.*, p. 323.

⁷ Nos qualescumque B. Petri Apostoli ministros. *Ibid.*

⁸ Animarum et corporum utilitati profectura plantemus. *Ibid.* p. 350.

body of the higher clergy of English origin ;¹ and the mission of the legates from Rome was to give the colour of religion to a measure purely political. The prelate whom they first struck was Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had dared to appear in arms against the foreigner, and had refused to anoint him king. These were his real crimes ; but the sentence which degraded him was grounded on other causes—on *more honest* pretexts (to use the language of the old historians).² Three ecclesiastical grievances were found against him, which rendered his ordination null and void.³ He was turned out of the episcopacy—first, for having taken the archbishopric during the life of the Norman Archbishop Robert, whom the Saxons had driven away ; secondly, for having said mass in the pontifical habit or *pallium* worn by the said Robert, and left by him at Canterbury ; lastly, for having received his own pallium from the hands of Benedict X., who had been degraded, and afterwards excommunicated, by a victorious competitor. As soon as the friend of King Harold and of his country was, according to the language of the time, *struck by the canonical axe*, his lands were seized and divided between the Norman king, the Norman queen, and the Bishop of Bayeux. The same blow was aimed at those English bishops who could not be reproached with any violation of the canons.⁴ Alexander prelate of Lincoln, Egelmar prelate of East Anglia, Egelric prelate of Sussex,⁵ several other bishops, and the abbots of the principal monasteries, were degraded all at once.⁶ When the sentence of degradation was pronounced against them, they were compelled to swear on the Gospel that they considered themselves as deprived of their dignities lawfully, and for ever ; and that, whoever their successors might be, they would not protest against them.⁷ They were then conducted by an armed guard into some fortress or monastery, which became their prison.⁸ Those who had formerly been monks were forcibly taken back to their old cloisters ; and it was officially

¹ Dignitatibus suis privarentur. *Wilkins' Con.*, p. 322.

² Honestam de illo voluit habere ultionem. *Walt. Hemingford.*, p. 458.

³ Degradatus tribus de causis. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 636.

⁴ Securi canonicæ animadversionis. *Doomesday-book*, tom. i. pp. 139, 152, 248.

⁵ Suthsaxonum pontifex. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 636.

⁶ Sine culpa. *Ibid.*

⁷ Successori calumniam illaturam. *Opera Lanfranci*, p. 300.

⁸ In custodia.—In captione apud castellam. *Anglia Sacra*, p. 108.

published, that, disgusted with the world, it had pleased them to go and revisit the friends of their youth. Thus it was that foreign power mingled derision with violence. The members of the Saxon clergy dared not to struggle against their fate: Stigand fled into Scotland; Egelsig, an Augustine abbot, embarked for Denmark, and was demanded as a *fugitif du roi*, by a rescript from the Conqueror.¹ Only one bishop, Egelwin of Durham,² when on the point of departing into exile, solemnly cursed the oppressors of his country; and declared them separated for ever from the communion of Christians, according to the grave and gloomy formula in which that separation was pronounced. But the sound of these words fell in vain on the ear of the Norman: William had priests to give the lie to priests, as he had swords to ward off swords.

There was then in Normandy a monk of Lombard origin, called Lanfranc, famed for his great knowledge. This man had at first been violently suspected by the Roman church of heresy; but had afterwards made signal protestations of orthodoxy and of fidelity to the apostolical power. The pope, in order to assure his return to the bosom of the church, and bind him by the ties of gratitude, was desirous of raising him to a high ecclesiastical dignity.³ Alexander's legate proposed him in the place of Stigand, as Archbishop of Canterbury;⁴ and the conquerors, amongst whom he had the reputation of a very able man, made no objection whatever to this choice, as they hoped much from Lanfranc for the prosperity of their conquest. Queen Mathilde and the great men of Normandy eagerly hastened his departure;⁵ and he was received with joy by the Normans in England, who hypocritically welcomed him as an instructor, sent by God Himself to reform (said they) the bad morals of the English people.⁶ Lanfranc was appointed archbishop by the election of the foreign king and barons. When he made his entry into the metropolis which they had given him, he felt an involuntary sorrow on beholding the condition to which they had reduced it.⁷ The church of Christ at Canterbury had been plundered and set fire to,⁸

¹ In rescripto fugitivum appellat. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 256.

² Solus inter omnes, Egelwinus Dunelmensis. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

³ *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 299.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Orderic. Vitalis.*

⁶ Ad emendationem morum. *Ibid.*

⁷ Mente contristatus est. *Eadmer.*, p. 7.

⁸ Incendio atque ruinis pæne nihili factam. *Ibid.*

and the new archbishop found his altar almost buried in the ruins.

At Whitsuntide a second council was held at Windsor; when one of the king's chaplains, named Thomas, was appointed Archbishop of York, in the room of Eldred deceased. Thomas, like Lanfranc, found his church destroyed, with all its ornaments, charters, titles, and privileges:¹ the territory of his diocese laid waste by fire and sword, and the very Normans who occupied it shuddering at the sight of their own ravages, and hesitating to settle on the lands which they had taken.² Thomas took possession of the domains of the church of York; but, either through disgust or through mutual terror, neither Norman nor Saxon would farm them.³

The pope sent his own pallium to Lanfranc, in token of investiture, and loaded him with flattering messages. "I long for you (said he), and console myself for your absence only by reflecting on the happy fruits which England is about to reap from your hands."⁴ Thus were the odious operations of the conquest clothed in the distance in an agreeable dress. Lanfranc's mission to England—his special and avowed mission—was, to employ religion in enslaving the English; and, as an old historian expresses it, to stifle the conquered people in the embraces of royalty and the priesthood.⁵ Lanfranc, no less able than William, followed, in his political sphere of action, a line of conduct exactly resembling that pursued by the conqueror: like him, he was in the first place careful to attribute to himself, under a plausible title, a universal, and seemingly lawful, authority. The church of Canterbury or of Kent, at the head of which he had been placed by the choice of the Normans and the pope,⁶ was, as has been seen in the former part of this work, the first church founded by the missionaries from Rome among the Saxon pagans. From this priority had arisen the idea of a sort of hierarchical primacy; but this notion had not been the foundation of any real supremacy in the church of Kent, or

¹ Incensa quoque metropolis Ecclesia, et ornamenta illius, et chartæ, et privilegia combusta. *Stubbs*, p. 1708.

² Ipsi Normannis in tantum animus deficeret, ut. *Ibid.*

³ Neminem qui eos, formidine indigenæ gentis et horrore vastæ solitudinis, suscipere auderet, invenerit. *Ibid.*

⁴ Consolationem sumimus. *Opera Lanfranci*, p. 337.

⁵ Diem regnum et sacerdotium in nostrum detrimentum mutuos commutarent amplexus. *Gerv. Cantuar.*, p. 1333.

⁶ O Normanni prælatus. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 509.

its dignitaries. The metropolitan see of York¹ had remained equal in power to the other, and the two had conjointly exercised the high superintendence over the bishoprics of England. But the chosen of the Normans called up ancient recollections, and brought forward some ambiguous acts of Pope Gregory (surnamed *the Great*), in order to reduce this double authority to unity, and constitute himself primate or sovereign archbishop of all England,² which (say the historians of the age) was a thing quite novel—a thing unheard of before the rule of the Normans.³

A great council of the Norman chiefs was held, in which Lanfranc laid it down, as the basis of his pretensions to the primacy, that “the law ought to flow from that source whence the faith had flowed; and that, as the province of Kent was subject to Rome because it had received Christianity from her, the province of York ought for the same reason to be subject to that of Kent.”⁴ This metaphysical argument was calculated to deceive the world; it was, indeed, the simple argument of respect for previous authority. The real motives, of which no one was ignorant, were, however, avowed only in confidence, and in private interviews. In these Lanfranc told King William that one sole primate was necessary for the preservation of the loyalty of the conquered;⁵ and that it was above all things requisite that the church of the north—of the country of rebellion—should be subject to that of the south—the land of loyalty; and that there ought not to be in York a bishop enjoying the right of anointing a king of the English, lest, either willingly or by force, he should lend his ministry to the consecration of some Saxon chief, or some Dane elected by the Saxons in revolt.⁶

Thomas, the Norman Archbishop of York, whose personal independence this measure went to destroy, testified so little devotion to the cause of the conquest, as to undertake to oppose this new institution.⁷ He called upon his colleague

¹ Duo metropolitani, potestate, dignitate, et officio, pares. *Th. Stubbs*, p. 1706.

² Iste est Lanfrancus, qui primus omnium, &c. *Ibid.*

³ Nova res, et a tempore quo in Anglia Normanni regnare cæperunt, inaudita. *Eadmer.*, p. 3.

⁴ Sicut Cantia subjicitur Romæ, ita Eboracum subjicitur Cantia. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 378.

⁵ Ad regni integritatem et firmitatem. *Tho. Stubbs.*, p. 1706.

⁶ Unus ab Eboracensi archiepiscopo et ab indigenis illius provinciæ rex crearetur. *Ibid.*

⁷ Palam murmuravit. *Wilkins*, p. 326.

Lanfranc to bring forward authentic acts in support of his pretensions. "It is well known (replied Lanfranc) that all the privileges of my church were destroyed by fire and pillage."¹ Such was his ostensible answer; but Thomas was warned in private, that if, for the peace and union of the kingdom,² he did not consent to acknowledge himself subject to his brother of Canterbury, he and all his relatives would be banished from England.³ Thomas desisted; and did his duty as a faithful son of the conquest.⁴ He resigned into the hands of Lanfranc all the power exercised by his predecessors south of the Humber, and retained nothing of their ancient possessions but the vain title of archbishop; for Lanfranc, under the name of *primate*, united all powers in his own person. In the language of the conquerors, he became *the father of all churches*;⁵ in that of the conquered, *all churches fell under his yoke, and became tributary to him*.⁶ He drove away whomsoever he pleased; and in their places put Normans, Frenchmen, Lorraine, men of all countries, of whatever origin,⁷ provided it was not English; for it must be remarked, that the measure which dispossessed the body of the prelates of England, was aimed only at those who were Englishmen by birth, and that the naturalised foreigners preserved their functions. Among these were Hermann and Guis,⁸ both natives of Lorraine, bishops of Wells and Sherborne.

From that time the bishoprics and abbeys of England were employed as the wealth of the rich, the liberties of the poor, and the beauty of the women, had been—to pay off the debts of the conquest. One Remi, of Fescamp,⁹ for sixty boats which he had furnished to the conqueror, received the bishopric of Dorchester, and afterwards that of Lincoln. This man and the other pontiffs, who had crossed the seas as a sort of corps of reserve, to put the finishing stroke to the invasion, and accomplish what the soldiers had not been able, or had not dared, to perform, drove away the whole body of the

¹ Jura combustione atque abolitione quam ecclesia vestra perpessa est, sunt absumpta. *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 301.

² Propter unitatem et pacem regni. *Th. Stubbs*, p. 1706.

³ Sui suorumque expulsionem de Anglia. *Ibid.*

⁴ Succubuit rationibus Thomas. *Anglia Sacra*, p. 253.

⁵ Ecclesiarum pater. *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 306.

⁶ Omnes Angliæ subjugavit ecclesias, nostram tributariam sibi fecit. *Gerv. Cant.*, p. 1333.

⁷ De quacunque alia natione quæ sub cœlo est. *Ingulf.*, p. 71.

⁸ Giso.

⁹ Remigius Fiscannensis est. *Eadmer.*, p. 7.

monks who, according to a custom peculiar to England, lived on the lands of the episcopal churches:¹ for this they were thanked by King William,* who thought that the monks of English origin could not but bear him ill-will.² A crowd of adventurers from Gaul came to pounce upon the prelacies, the abbeys, the archdeaconries and deaneries, of England, like birds of prey attracted to a field of battle by the smell of blood. Most of these men exhibited in their new vocation the most shameless immorality. William, Bishop of Hereford was killed by the hand of a woman to whom he offered violence.³ Others made themselves famous by their extraordinary gluttony.⁴ Robert of Limoges,⁵ Bishop of Lichfield, plundered the monastery of Coventry; he took the horses and furniture belonging to the monks who inhabited it, entered the dormitory by force, and broke open their coffers;⁶ pulled down their buildings, and used the materials in erecting a house for himself, the furniture of which was paid for by melting down the silver ornaments that had decorated the church.⁷ This same Robert of Limoges published a decree, by which the monks were forbidden the use of nourishing food and instructive books; for fear (says the historian) that abundant rations and liberal reading would make their bodies too strong, and their minds too daring, against their new bishop.⁸

Nearly all the Norman bishops, disdaining to live in the ancient capitals of the dioceses—which were mostly small towns⁹—removed to places where there were either good lands to be taken, or a large population to be plundered. Thus it was that Coventry, Lincoln, Chichester, Sherborne, and Thetford became episcopal towns.¹⁰ In general, the thirst of gain was seen to rage yet more fiercely in the priests than in the soldiers of the invasion. The English benefices

¹ Monachos eliminare moliti sunt. *Eadmer.*, p. 10.

² Sibi semper mala imprecantium. *Ingulf.*, p. 913.

³ *Henricus Knighton*, p. 2348.

⁴ Lautitiarum appetentissimus, nonnulla infamia respersus. *Will. Malmes.*, p. 377.

⁵ Robertus de Limozi.

⁶ Dormitorium per vim intravisti, arcas eorum fregisti, equos cepisti, domos destruisti. *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 31.

⁷ De uno trabe crevit 500 marcos argenti. *Anglia Sacra*, p. 455.

⁸ Non nisi triviali litteratura permisit informari, ne deliciæ aut litteræ redderent monachos contra episcopum elatos. *H. Knighton*, p. 2352.

⁹ Ne in modica civitate nomen Episcopi vilesceret. *Notes to Eadmer.*, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Wilkins' Consilia*, tom. i. p. 73.

became the pay of flatterers and cowards,¹ who, intruded into them in contempt of religion and even of the laws of the Roman church (careless about self-contradiction), exercised a base and ignoble tyranny, more disgusting than the brutality of the armed force. The Norman abbots also wielded the weapons of violence; but it was against unarmed monks. More than one convent was the scene of military executions. In that governed by one Turauld or Torauld, of Fescamp, it was the abbot's custom to cry out, "*A moi, mes hommes d'armes!* (Come hither, my men-at-arms)," whenever the monks resisted him in any article of ecclesiastical discipline.³ His warlike exploits made him so famous, that the conqueror himself felt obliged to punish him; and, as a sort of whimsical chastisement, sent him to govern the convent of Peterborough in the county of Northampton, a post rendered dangerous by its vicinity to the great Saxon camp, but well suited (said William) to an abbot who was so good a soldier.⁴ The Saxon monks, though delivered out of the hands of this redoubtable chief, suffered no less from his successor, one Guerin de Lire,⁵ who, according to the ancient account, took the last crown from their purses that he might get himself a name among those who had lately seen him poor.⁶ This Guerin ordered the bodies of his predecessors the English race of abbots to be disinterred; and, gathering their bones together, had them buired in one heap without the gates.⁷

While things like these were doing in England, rumour was publishing abroad, by the pens of clerks, hired, or wishing to be so, that William the mighty, the victorious, the pious, was civilising that hitherto barbarous country, and reviving Christianity, which had until then been much neglected.⁸ The voice of truth, however, was not entirely stifled: the cries of the oppressed were heard even at Rome: and in that Roman court, which the historians of those times charge with being so venal, there were still to be found a few conscientious men

¹ Curiales nimis et aulici. *Math. Paris.*, p. 47.

² Intrudebantur.

³ Turaldus quidam Fiscanniensis monachus. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 372.

⁴ Ibi virtutem et militiæ suam experiatur. *Ibid.*

⁵ Warinus de Lyrà.

⁶ Apud eos qui eum olim pauperem vidissent. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 41.

⁷ Conglobata ut acervum rudium. *Ibid.*

⁸ Barbaros mitigavit mores, cultumque Christianæ religionis, qui modicus erat, ampliavit. *Scriptores Franciæ*, tom. xi. p. 162.

who denounced the revolution effected in England as odious, infamous, and contrary to the laws of the Church.¹

The degradation of the Saxon, and the intrusion of the Norman bishops, were strongly blamed; but the death of Alexander, and the accession (under the name of Gregory VII.) of that Hildebrand who, according to his own words, had once deserved to be branded with infamy,² for advocating the cause of the English against the invader, reduced the accusers of the new church of England almost to silence. Its canonical legitimacy was no longer called in question; and two individuals only, Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, were cited to appear before the church of Rome; the former because he was the son of a priest, the latter because he had paid a sum of money for his episcopal dignity.³ Lanfranc set out with them, all three being provided (say the chronicles) with presents for the pope and the greedy Romans.⁴ Their first care was to make a liberal distribution of the riches of England, and gain themselves a great reputation for munificence and talent among the good people of Latium.⁵ When they came to business, everything having been settled beforehand, all that remained was a vain pompous scene, in which the Normans returned to the pope the ring and pastoral crosier; and Lanfranc pleaded for them, and proved that they were very useful to the new king in the new arrangement of his kingdom.⁶ "Well (said the pope to Lanfranc), decide as thou shalt think best, for thou art the father of that country: ⁷ I place both the crosiers at thy disposal." Lanfranc took them, and gave them back to Henry and Thomas; then, having received Gregory's confirmation of his own title as sovereign pontiff of England, he and his companions took their departure.

Thus the churches of England continued, without any obstacle, and with the sanction of the Roman church, to be recruited from all nations. The priest of foreign birth recited French homilies in the Saxon temples; and, when, either through surprise or through terror, they were listened to with

¹ *Wilkins' Consilia*, p. 326.

² *Pæne infamiam perpessus. Epist. Hildebrandi.*

³ *Primus presbyteri filius erat, secundus episcopatum pactus est. H. Knighton*, p. 2348.

⁴ *Cupidis Romanis. Orderic. Vital.*, p. 548.

⁵ *Mirabiles Latiis visi sunt. Ibid.*

⁶ *Novo regi in novis regni dispositionibus pernecessarios. Eadmer.*, p. 7.

⁷ "Tu es pater istius patriæ." *Ibid.*

patience, grew proud of the efficacy of his words, which, he would say, insinuated themselves as if by miracle into the ears of the barbarians.¹ A sort of shame at having nothing but these ridiculous farces to offer to the view of the Christian world, impelled William to seek out some one of those men whom the austerity of their lives had elevated in the opinion of the age. Such was Guimand,² a monk of the convent of the Cross of St. Lenfroi, in Normandy. The king sent him an invitation to cross the sea, and Guimand obeyed the orders of his temporal superior. When he arrived in England, the king told him that he had resolved to keep him there, and to raise him to a great ecclesiastical dignity. The following was the monk's reply, as related by an historian who lived soon after :³ "Various motives induce me to decline the exercise of ecclesiastical power. I will not declare them all. I will only say, that I cannot conceive how it is possible for me worthily to become the religious superior of men whose language and whose manners are alike unknown to me—whose fathers, brothers, and dearest friends, if not slain by your sword, are stripped of their inheritances, banished, imprisoned, or reduced to hard slavery by you. Turn to the Scriptures, and see if they contain any law which tolerates the imposition of a pastor on God's flock by the choice of an enemy. Can you innocently share that which you have gained by war and the blood of thousands with me, and such as I, who have vowed to despise the world, and have left our own possessions for the love of Christ? It is the law of all religious orders to abstain from rapine, and to accept no part of what has been obtained by plunder, not even as an offering at the altar; for, as the Scriptures say, he who offers as a sacrifice what belongs to the poor, is like one who would immolate the son in the presence of the father. When I call to mind these precepts of God, I feel troubled with fear. Your England seems one vast prey; and I should dread to touch it for its treasures, as I should to put my hands into a fire. . . ." Guimand repassed the sea, and returned to his cloister; but, adds the ancient historian, it was soon rumoured that he had exalted the poverty of the monks above the wealth of the bishops: that, in the

¹ Licet illum latine vel gallice loquentem, minime intelligerent, tamen, virtute Verbi Dei, et gratia vultus sui, ad lacrymas sæpe compuncti sunt. *Ingulfs Continuatio*, p. 115.

² Guitemandus.

³ *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 529, of the Collection of Writers of Normandy.

face of the king and his chiefs, he had applied the name of rapine to their acquisition of England; ¹ and had even spoken of the bishops and abbots, who had been installed against the will of the English, as plunderers. ² His words were divulged abroad, and gave umbrage to many—who, not caring to imitate him, calumniated him through hatred and envy. ³

The hatred which the clergy of the conquest bore to the natives of England, extended even to the saints of English birth; and in different places their tombs were broken open and their bones scattered about. ⁴ “All that we had revered of old,” says a cotemporary writer, “was looked upon as vile and contemptible.” ⁵ But the violent aversion of the conquerors for the English saints had a political reason distinct from their common disdain for everything which appertained to the vanquished. The Anglo-Saxon religion had frequently been but the reflection of Anglo-Saxon patriotism: many saints had become such by falling in battle at the time of the Danish invasion; and the national gratitude, in order to bestow upon them the noblest title which could be given to the dead in the middle ages, had called them martyrs. Such was Elf-eg, Archbishop of Canterbury—whose end, glorious in the eyes of every patriot, has been related in a preceding page. ⁶ Such was Edmund, King of Est-Anglia, to whose intercession the English people once attributed the premature death of a tyrant of foreign birth. ⁷

Such saints must have given umbrage to the Norman king; for the worship of them encouraged the spirit of revolt, and consecrated all the old recollections of bravery and liberty. The foreign priests, therefore, with Lanfranc at their head, lost no time in proclaiming that the Saxon saints were not true saints, nor the Saxon martyrs true martyrs. ⁸ Guérin de Lire attacked St. Adhelm; while Lanfranc undertook to degrade Elf-eg, by ridiculing his death and his courageous refusal to satisfy the avarice of the Danes. “It would be easy to be a

¹ *Obtentum Angliæ rapinam appellaverit. Orderic Vital., p. 526.*

² *Rapacitatis redarguerit. Ibid.*

³ *Sequentes ejus esse spernentes, contra eum ingenti livore exarserunt. Ibid.*

⁴ *Tipho quodam et nausea sanctorum corporum. Anglia Sacra, tom. ii.*

⁵ *p. 41.*

⁶ *Pæne cuncta quæ ab Anglis antiquitus quasi sacrosancta celebrabantur, nunc vix postremæ auctoritatis habentur. Eadmeri Hist. Novor., p. 126.*

⁷ *Book II. p. 85.*

⁸ *Ibid. p. 68.*

⁸ *Angli inter quos vivimus quosdam sibi instituerunt sanctos quorum incerta sunt merita. Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 162.*

martyr," said the Lombard primate, "if, to be so, it were only requisite that a man should love money better than life."¹ Thus it was that he burlesquely travestied one of the traits most worthy of human admiration. Probably with similar views, and to give a new direction to the spirit of the English, Lanfranc caused all the copies of the Scriptures throughout England to be seized, and corrected them with his own hand, pretending that the ignorance of the Saxons had in ancient times corrupted the text; but all men did not believe this haughty assertion, and Lanfranc incurred the reproach of having falsified the sacred books.²

Violence done to the popular conviction, whether true or false, rational or superstitious, is often more powerful in stimulating the courage of the oppressed than the loss of liberty and well-being. The insults lavished upon the objects of ancient worship and the sufferings of the ancient bishops, together with the religious innovations of the conquest, strongly agitated the public mind, and became the source of a great conspiracy, which extended over all England.³ Many priests took part in it; and three prelates declared themselves its leaders, viz. Fretheric, Abbot of St. Alban's, the same who, with trunks and boughs of trees, had obstructed the conqueror's march to London, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Walter or Gaultier, Bishop of Hereford, a Fleming by birth, and the only one among the foreigners made bishops before the conquest who proved faithful to the cause of his adopted country.⁴ The name of the young king Edgar was once more heard; and popular songs were circulated, in which he was called *the handsome, the brave, the darling of England*.⁵ The two brothers Edwin and Morkar now fled a second time from the court of the Norman. The city of London, until then peaceful and resigned to the yoke, began to be turbulent, and (as the old historians say, in a language unfortunately too vague) to fly in the face of the king.⁶

¹ *Eo quod occisus fuerit non pro confessione nominis Christi, sed quia pecunia se redimere noluit. Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 162.*

² *Quæ rudis simplicitas Anglicana corruerat ab antiquo. Edward Brown. Fasciculi Rerum expetendarum in Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 55.*

³ *Plures convocando exercitum numerosum et fortissimum constaverunt. Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat., p. 30.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Speciosissimum et fortissimum . . . unde in Angliam tale exiit eulogium :
"Ædgar Ethelinge
Engelondes derelinge."*

Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbatum, p. 30.

⁶ *Cives Londoniæ in faciem resisterunt. Ibid.*

To avert this new danger, William adopted the same means which he had employed several times before—promises and lies. His lying once more succeeded. Fretheric and the chiefs of the insurgents, having been invited by his messages to repair to Berkhamstead, to treat for peace, went to that ill-omened place, where Saxon hands had for the first time touched in token of subjection the armed hand of the conqueror. There they found King William, with his adviser the primate Lanfranc, both affecting towards them an air of mildness and good faith.¹ A sort of discussion was held on their respective interests, which was terminated by an agreement. All the relics of the church of St. Alban's had been brought to the place of conference. A missal was laid upon these relics, and opened at the Gospel; and William, placing himself in the situation in which he had but a short time before placed Harold, swore by the sacred bones and the holy gospels, to observe inviolably the good and ancient laws which the holy and pious kings of England, especially King Edward, had formerly established.² The abbot Fretheric and the rest of the English answered William's oath by the oath of fidelity and peace which it had been the custom to take to the Saxon kings; and dispersed, satisfied and full of hope.³ Bishop Wulfstan was deputed to go into the west, to the province of Chester, to allay the popular ferment, and make a pastoral visit, which no Norman prelate yet dared to undertake.⁴

These good and ancient laws, these laws of Edward, the renewed promise of which extinguished the flame of insurrection, were no particular codes, no settled system of written regulations; but these words simply implied the order of mild and popular administration which had existed in the time of the national kings. Under the Danish dominion, the vanquished people, in their wishes, and in their prayers addressed to the victor, asked for the laws of Ethelred, that is, for the abolition of the innovation of the conquest:⁵ asking, under the Norman dominion, for the laws of Edward, was only expressing the same desire; but it was a fruitless desire,

¹ Et serena facie vocavit eos ad pacem. *Math. Paris. Vit. Abbatum*, p. 30.

² Juravit super omnes reliquias Ecclesiæ Sti. Albani, tactisque sacrosanctis evangelis, bonas et approbatas antiquus regni leges . . . inviolabiliter observare. *Ibid.*

³ Ad propria læti recesserunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Episcopatus ei Cestrensis visitatio a Lanfranco commissa est . . . ea enim provincia Normannis inaccessa est et imparata. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 256.

⁵ See Book II. p. 114.

and one which, in despite of his promises, the conqueror could not satisfy. In vain might he, in good faith, have restored every legal practice of Saxon times ; for these practices, observed even to the letter, by foreign judges, would not have produced their former results. Perhaps there was an error of language in the demands of the English nation : for it was not the non-observance of its ancient civil or criminal laws which rendered its situation so disastrous ; it was the ruin of its independence and its existence as a nation.¹ Neither William nor his successors showed any great hatred for the ancient Saxon legislation, whether criminal or civil ; they allowed it to be observed in transactions. They and their officers, in their courts, decided the cases of the Saxons according to the strict terms of the ancient code, without any advantage to the Saxons. They allowed the rate of fines for theft and murder committed upon Englishmen to vary, as before the conquest, according to the division of the great provinces.² They allowed the Saxon accused of murder or pillage to justify himself, according to the ancient custom, by red-hot iron or boiling water ; while a Frenchman accused of the same crime by a Saxon, vindicated himself by duel, or simply by an oath, according to the law of Normandy.³ This difference of proceeding, all to the disadvantage of the conquered population, did not disappear till after the lapse of a century and a half, when the decrees of the Roman church forbade judgments by fire and water in all countries.⁴ Moreover, among the old Saxon laws there were some which must have been especially favourable to the conquest—as that which rendered each district responsible for the offences of its members, and that which banished for ever any one who had violated the public peace⁵—laws admirably convenient, in the hands of the foreigner, for creating and perpetuating terror. Such laws as these it was for the interest of the conqueror to observe ; and

¹ Ils requierent estre gouvernez comme li reis Edouard les avait gouvernez. *Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, tom. xii. p. 329.

² Si home occist altre, . . . XX livres en Merchenlae et XXV liv. en Westsaxenela. *Lois de Guillaume le Conq. Ingulf. Croyl. Script. Oxon.*, p. 89.

³ Anglicus se purget per judicium ferri, francigena se defendat per bellum ; et si Anglicus non audeat probare per bellum, defendat se francigena pleno juramento—(s'en escondira per plein serment). *Willelm. Nothi, apud Joan. Brompton.*

⁴ *Notæ ad Eadmerum, ed. Selden*, p. 204.

⁵ Borhs, frith-borhs, borsholders. Si quis scienter fregerit pacem quam rex manu sua dederit, utlaghe judicetur. *Doomesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 172.

in this sense he rigorously kept the promise which he had made to the Saxon chiefs, giving himself no concern whatever about whether or not the Saxons understood it otherwise. He sent for twelve men from each province, who came to him in London, and declared on oath what were the ancient customs of the country.¹ What they said was digested into a sort of code, in the French idiom of the day, the only legal language recognised by the government of the conquest. The Norman heralds were then sent about, crying, to the sound of the horn, in the towns and villages, "the laws which King William granted to the whole people of England, the same which his cousin King Edward had held before him."²

The laws of Edward were published; but the days of Edward returned not for the inhabitants of England. The townsman found no more his free city, nor the countryman his territorial franchise: thenceforward, as before, every Norman had the privilege of killing an Englishman, without being criminal, or even sinning in the eyes of the church, provided he thought him a rebel.³ The vanquished soon found by experience of how little real value to themselves was this concession for which they had laid down their arms. As it always happens in such circumstances, the chiefs who had made themselves formidable, and forced the ruling power to capitulate with them, were cruelly persecuted. "The perjured tyrant," say the chronicles, "had not dared to face them when united; but he attacked them when dispersed, and crushed them one by one."⁴ Bishop Gaultier fled into Wales; and the Norman soldiers were ordered to continue their pursuit of him in that country, over which William's dominion did not extend: but the Welsh forests and mountains protected the fugitive.⁵ King Edgar, finding that snares were laid for him

¹ Electi sunt de singulis comitatibus 12 viri sapientiores, quibus jurejurando injunctum erat coram rege Willelmo, ut quoad possent legum suarum et consuetudinum sancita patefacerent, nil prætermittentes nil addentes. *Th. Rudborn, in Anglia Sacra*, p. 259.

² Ces sont les lois et les coutumes que li reis William grantat à tout le peuple d'Angleterre, les meismes que li reis Edward son cosin tint devant lui. *Ingulf. Croyl. Script. Oxon.*, p. 88.

³ Qui post consecrationem regis hominem occiderint, sicut de homicidiis sponte commissis pœniteant, hoc excepto, ut si quis de illis quemque qui adhuc repugnabat regi occidit vel percussit. *Decreta Præsulum Normanorum. Wilkins' Consilia*, p. 366.

⁴ Tyrannus inexorabilis quos non poterat confederatos et congregatos superare, singulos dispersos ac semotos studuit infestare et subpeditare. *Math. Paris. Vit. Abbat.*, p. 31.

⁵ In abdito Walliæ vix tutus latitavit. *Ibid.*

on every side, once more fled into Scotland. Bishop Wulfstan stooped to servility, and found favour with the king. He offered his pardon to the Abbot of St. Alban's at the same price, but Fretheric was less submissive.¹ He assembled his monks in the chapter of the convent, and said to them with tears in his eyes, "My brethren, my friends, the time has now arrived when, according to the words of the Scripture, we must fly from our persecutors, and wander from city to city."² He took with him some provisions and some books, and secretly reached the Isle of Ely, where he died a short time after.³

William, transported with the same rage against the monastery of St. Alban's, which had animated him against all those, the chiefs of which, had taken part in the patriotic resistance and insurrections, seized its lands, cut down its woods, and resolved to destroy it utterly:⁴ but the primate Lanfranc reproved him; and, by urgent entreaties, obtained from him, on pretence of religious devotion, the preservation of the convent and a licence to place in it as abbot a man of his own choice. Lanfranc had brought with him a young man named Paul, his relative, or, as is the opinion of some,⁵ his son; and to this young man, until then without fortune, he gave, for the honour of God, the abbey vacant by the flight of Fretheric the Saxon. The first act of the new abbot's administration was, to demolish the tombs of all his predecessors, on whom he bestowed the epithets of *brutes* and *idiots*, because they were of the English race.⁶ Paul sent to Normandy for his relatives, who were very poor, and distributed among them the offices and all the possessions of his church. "They were all," says the ancient historian,⁷ "persons of the grossest ignorance, and the morals of most of them were too infamous to be described."⁸

The reader must now turn his eyes once more to the Isle of

¹ Et cum posset ipsum Wulfstanus regi vel archiepiscopo pacificare, ipse abbas noluit ei credere. *Math. Paris. Vit. Abbat.*, p. 31.

² Fratres ac filii . . . fugiendum est a facie persequentium a civitate in civitatem. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Extirpatis sylvis et depauperatis hominibus, totumque cœnobium destruxisset nisi . . . *Ibid.*

⁵ Et, ut quidam autumant, filius. *Ibid. Nota ad Eadmer.*, p. 196.

⁶ Quos brutos et idiotas consuevit appellare, contemnendo eos quasi Anglicos. *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁷ Parentibus suis Normannicis de substantia ecclesiæ. *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁸ Litteraturæ ignaris et origine ac moribus ignobilibus quæ non possunt scribi. *Ibid.*

Ely—to that land of marshes, those fields of reeds (as the chronicles of the time express it), the last asylum of the independence and courage of the vanquished.¹ Archbishop Stigand and Bishop Egelwin came thither from Scotland, where they had taken refuge.² Edwin and Morkar, after wandering for some time through the fields and forests, repaired thither with other brave men.³ The foreign king, who had just before succeeded by his artifice alone in dissolving the conspiracy of the patriot priests, in like manner made trial of deceit before he employed force against the Saxons of the camp of Ely. Morkar, Edwin's brother, became for the third time the dupe of his false promises, and suffered himself to be persuaded to quit the camp of refuge and repair to the Norman court.⁴ But scarcely had he set his foot beyond the entrenchments raised by his countrymen, when he was seized and put in irons in a fortress kept by a Frenchman named Roger, whom the old history calls a citizen of Beaumont.⁵ Edwin immediately quitted the camp of Ely—not to surrender himself like his brother, but to attempt his deliverance. He was occupied for six months in seeking assistance and assembling a force from among the English and the men of Wales and Scotland;⁶ but at the moment when he found himself sufficiently strong for the execution of his enterprise, two traitors denounced him and sold him to the Normans. He defended himself for a long time with twenty horsemen against superior forces. The fight took place near the coasts of the northern sea, toward which the Saxon retreated, hoping to find some means of embarking: but he was stopped by a small stream which the rising tide had swelled; and, being overwhelmed by numbers, he fell, and his head was carried to the conqueror.⁷

Such was the fate of Edwin and Morkar, sons of Alfgar and brothers-in-law to King Harold—both falling victims to the cause which they had repeatedly abandoned. Their sister, named Lucy, experienced the fate of all English women who

¹ Paludum terra. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 177.

² *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 610.

³ Vagati per campos et sylvas. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 181.

⁴ Falsis allegationibus simpliciter acquievit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 521.

⁵ Cautelæ Rogerii oppidani Belmontis mancipavit. *Ibid.*

⁶ Sex igitur mensibus a Scotis, Guallis, et Anglis, auxilia sibi quæsit. *Ibid.*

⁷ Ad hoc facinus exæstuatio marina Normannos adjuvat . . . proditores pro favore illius caput ei domini sui deferebant. *Ibid.*

were left without a protector; she was given in marriage to Ives Taille-bois, a captain of Anjouan soldiers, who received with her all the ancient domains of the family of Alfgar.¹ Many of these lands were situated in the vicinity of Spalding, on the confines of the provinces of Cambridge and Lincoln, in the fens called *Holland* or *the low country*, near the camp of the refugees of Ely. Taille-bois fixed his abode in that place. He became over the farmers of the old domain what in Saxon was called the *hlaf-ord*, and by contraction the *lord*, of the land.² This name properly signified a *giver* or *distributor of bread*, and was used in ancient England to designate the head of a great house—him whose table fed a number of men at once: but for this inoffensive signification other ideas were substituted—ideas of dominion and servitude, when the men of the conquest received from the natives the title of *lords*. The foreign lord was a master: the inhabitants of the domain trembled in his presence; and it was never without terror that they approached his dwelling, or his *hall*, as the Saxons called it—a dwelling once hospitable to all, where the door was always open, and the fire always blazing—now fortified, walled, and moated, filled with arms and soldiers, at once the citadel of its master and the prison for the neighbourhood.

“Therefore,” says a cotemporary, “all the people of the low country were very careful to appear humble before Taille-bois, and never to address him without bending one knee to the earth.”³ But, although they were eager to render him every possible homage, and to discharge whatever they owed him in contributions or in service, he made them no return of affability or good-will; on the contrary, he vexed, tormented, tortured, and imprisoned them, loaded them with *corvées*, and by his daily cruelties compelled most of them to sell what little they still possessed and seek another country.⁴ His truly diabolical spirit loved evil for evil’s sake. He would often set his dogs to pursue other men’s cattle, would scatter the animals over the fens, drown them in the lakes, maim

¹ Quorum sororem, nomine Luciam, cum omnibus terris eorum, Ivoni Taylbois tum Andegavensi comiti maritavit. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 306.

² Dominus Spaldingæ et totius Hollandiæ. *Ibid. Ingulf. Croyl. Gale*, p. 94.

³ Eum omnes Hoylandenses genu flexo deprecabantur ut dominum. *Ingulf. Croyl. ed. Saville*, p. 902.

⁴ Sed torquens et tribulans, angens et angustans, incarcerationans et excrucians, ac quotidie novis servitiis onerans, plurimos omnia sua vendere et alias patrias quærere compellebat. *Ingulf. Croyl. ed. Saville*, p. 902.

them in various ways, and make them unfit for service by breaking their limbs or their backs."¹

A part of the English monks of the abbey of Crowland, inhabited a *sucursale* which the monastery possessed at the very gate of this terrible Anjouan's manor. He made them feel, still more violently than the rest of the neighbourhood, the effects of his destructive fury against everything Saxon or belonging to the Saxons.² He lamed their horses and oxen, killed their sheep and poultry, and had their servants assailed on the roads and beaten with staves and swords.³ The monks endeavoured to appease him by supplications and offers: they made presents to his household; they tried everything and suffered everything, says the cotemporary history;⁴ then, "finding that their efforts were useless, and that the malice of the tyrant and his people only became the greater, they took with them the sacred vessels, their beds, and their books, and, leaving their habitation in the hands of Almighty God, they shook the dust from their feet against the sons of eternal fire, and returned to Crowland."⁵ Ives Taille-bois, rejoicing at their retreat, quickly sent a message to Angers, his native town, desiring that some monks might be sent, to whom, he said, he had to offer a good house, ready-built, ready-prepared, and well provided with lands and rents.⁶ The foreign monks passed the strait, and took possession of the *sucursale* of Crowland. The Abbot of Crowland, who, by some chance, was an Englishman, protested against the proceedings of the Anjouan chief before the king's counsel, composed of Normans and Anjouans. Ives Taille-bois was not only absolved, but was praised for all that he had done, in extortion, in pillage, and in murder;⁷ "for," says the old narrator, "the foreigners mutually supported one another; they formed a close league,

¹ Instinctu diabolico . . . in mariscos oves canibus suis insertans, et crebros spinis ac tibiis jumentorum fractis. *Ingulf. Croyl. ed. Saville*, p. 902.

² In januis ejus quotidie conversantes in tantum tribulavit. *Ibid. ed. Gale*, p. 94.

³ Jumentis eorum tam bobus quam equis multoties mutilatis, ovibus et avibus quotidie enecatis, cum famuli prioris gladiis et fustibus in compitis sæpius cæderentur. *Ibid.*

⁴ Post innumera suis ministris donaria, post peracta omnia. . . . *Ibid.* p. 902.

⁵ Relicta cella in manu domini, excutientes pulverem pedum suorum in filios ignis æterni. *Ibid.*

⁶ Paratam et ædificatam, et tenementis satis dilatam. *Ibid. ed. Saville*, p. 902.

⁷ Prædas et pressuras, cædes et cæteras injurias Ivoni Talbois justificant et acceptant. *Ibid.*

bearing one upon another, just as on the body of the infernal dragon scale is laid over scale."¹

At that time, there was in Flanders a Saxon named Hereward, who had long been settled there, and to whom some English emigrants, flying their country after losing everything in it, announced that his father was dead, that his paternal inheritance had become the property of a Norman, and that his aged mother, driven away by the foreigners, had suffered and was still suffering every kind of affliction and insult.² At this news Hereward set out for England, and arrived unsuspected at the place where his family had formerly dwelt. He made himself known to such of his relatives and friends as had survived the invasion; he prevailed on them to form an armed band, and, at the head of them, attacked the Norman who had insulted his mother and usurped his inheritance.³ Hereward drove him away and took his place; but, being compelled for his own safety not to confine himself to this single exploit, he continued a partisan warfare in the vicinity of his residence, and sustained against the counts and governors of the neighbouring towns and fortresses numerous conflicts, in which he conquered by his skill and perseverance.⁴ The rumour of his brilliant achievements was spread throughout England; the eyes of the conquered people were turned towards this man with a feeling of hope; and his adventures and his praises were sung in popular verses which are not now to be found, but which were long sung in the streets, in the very ears of the conquerors, owing to their long-continued ignorance of the idiom of the subjugated people.⁵

The inheritance reconquered from the Normans by Hereward the Saxon was situated in the southern part of the province of Lincoln, near the abbey of Crowland, and at no great distance from that of Peterborough, nor from the isles of Ely and Thorney. The insurgents of these cantons soon had communications with the armed bands commanded by the brave partisan-chief. Struck by his fame and talents, they invited

¹ Veluti in corpore behemoth squamma squammæ conjuncta fuisset. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 902.

² Paternam hæreditatem munere regis cuidam Normanno donari, matremque viduam multis injuriis et molestis affligi. *Ibid.*, p. 901.

³ Collectaque cognatorum non contremenda manu, . . . de sua hereditate procul fugat et eliminat. *Ibid.*

⁴ Ingentia prælia et mille pericula tam contra regem Angliæ quam comites et barones præfectos et præsides. *Ibid.* p. 899.

⁵ Prout adhuc in triviis canantur. *Ibid.*

him to repair to them in order to become their commander ; and Hereward, yielding to their solicitations, went to the camp of refuge with all his companions.¹ Before taking the command of men, of whom several were members of the high Saxon military order, a sort of fraternity or corporation authorised by the law, Hereward thought fit to be admitted himself, and became (according to the expression of the cotemporary writers) a legitimate warrior.² The institution of a superior class among those who devoted themselves to arms, and of public ceremonies without which no one could be admitted into that warlike association, had been introduced and propagated in all the west of Europe by the irruption of the Germanic nations which dismembered the Roman empire. This custom existed in Gaul ; and, in the Roman tongue of that country, a soldier of the high military order was called a *cavalier* or *chevalier*, because at that time, throughout Gaul and on the continent in general, the horsemen formed the principal strength of armies. It was otherwise in England : the perfection of the equestrian science was not at all considered in the idea there formed of an accomplished warrior. The two only elements of that idea were *youth* and *strength* ; and the Saxon tongue gave the name of *cniht*, i.e. *young man*, to him whom the Gauls of the south, as also the Germans, called a *horse-man*.³

Notwithstanding this difference, the ceremonies, by which a warrior was admitted into the high military order in England and on the continent, were exactly the same. The aspirant had to confess in the evening ; watch in the church all night ; and, in the morning, place his sword upon the altar, receive it from the hands of the officiating priest, and communicate after receiving it.⁴ Every combatant, who had submitted to these different formalities, was thenceforward reputed a warrior by title, and capable of commanding in every rank.⁵ In this manner it was that a man-at-arms was made a chevalier in France and throughout Gaul, excepting only Normandy, where, through some remains of the Danish customs, the investiture

¹ Celeri nuncio ad eos accersitus, dux belli et magister militum efficitur. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 901.

² Necdum militari more balteo legitime se accinctum . . . militiæ legitimæ militem legitimum. *Ibid.*

³ *Knight*, or *cild*, otherwise *child*. The Germans had, in like manner, used the word *hild* or *held* before *reiter* or *ritter*.

⁴ Anglorum erat consuetudo ut qui militiæ legitime consecrandus esset vespere præcedente. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 901.

⁵ Sic denuo miles legitimus permaneret. *Ibid.*

of chivalry took place under forms more military and less religious. The Normans used to say that he whose sword had been girt on by a clerk in a long gown was not a true chevalier, but a citizen without prowess :¹ and this disdainful objection was preferred against Hereward, when the conquerors learned that he was gone to the monastery of Peterborough to take the military baldrick at the hands of a Saxon abbot. On this occasion, however, the Normans were prompted by something more than their habitual contempt for the rites of sacerdotal consecration ; for, independently of these rites, it was repugnant to their pride that a man of English birth should, in any way whatever, obtain the right of entitling himself *chevalier*, and claiming from them that respect which the chevaliers of all nations were bound to show to one another. They were unwilling that a Saxon priest or monk should have the power of creating them equals among their subjects. Their pride as conquerors was more deeply wounded by this apprehension than their honour as warriors by the religious ceremony ; for they themselves afterwards submitted to that ceremony, and granted to bishops the right of conferring knighthood : but this did not happen until the English bishoprics were all occupied by men of Norman birth ; and then, it was with this difference from the practice in the days of Saxon liberty—that the privilege was interdicted to the monks and all the inferior clergy, still in great part composed of Saxons.²

The chief of the abbey of Peterborough was the same Brand who, but a short time before, had after his election applied to Edgar and not to William for the confirmation of his title.³ In blessing the sword of an enemy to the Normans, Brand a second time committed the crime of high-treason against the conquest. He would no doubt have been rigorously chastised for this double crime, had not death carried him off a short time after. Then it was that the Norman Torauld, the valorous monk already spoken of,⁴ was sent as his successor to the abbey of Peterborough. Torauld, taking with him a hundred and sixty Frenchmen well armed, stopped in the town of Stamford, a few leagues from Peterborough ; and sent forward

¹ Hanc consecrandi milites consuetudinem Normanni abominantes, non militem legitimum talem tenebant, sed socordem equitem et quiritem degenerem deputabant. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 901.

² See Sharon Turner, *History of the Anglo-Normans*, tom. i. p. 140.

³ See Book IV. p. 180.

⁴ See Book V. p. 241.

scouts to observe the position of the English refugees, and ascertain what obstacles he should have to encounter in taking possession of the abbey.¹ The refugees, on their side, being apprised of the Norman's approach, made a descent upon the monastery; and, finding the monks but little resolved to defend it against the abbot and his men-at-arms, they carried off everything of value — crosses, vessels, and drapery, and conveyed them by water to their quarters, in order (said they) that they might have pledges for the fidelity of the convent.² The convent proved unfaithful, and received the foreigners without resistance. Torauld installed himself as its chief, and took sixty-two hydes of land on the domains of his church, to be the pay or fief of his soldiers.³ The Anjouan Ives Taille-bois, Viscount of Spalding, soon proposed to his neighbour the abbot a warlike expedition against Hereward and the Saxon camp. Torauld seemed to accept the proposal with joy; but, his bravery not being so great against armed men as against monks, he let the Anjouan viscount go first and search among the forests of willows which formed the defence of the Saxons, and remained a long way in the rear with some Normans of high rank.⁴ While Ives went into the wood on one side, Hereward went out on the other, surprised the abbot and his Normans, made them all prisoners, and kept them in the fens until they had paid for their ransom a sum of three thousand marks.⁵

Meanwhile, the Danish fleet which, after entering the mouth of the Humber in the winter of 1069, had departed in the spring without fighting, and caused the second taking of York and the conquest of the north of England, had returned to Denmark. Its chiefs were ill received by King Swen, whose orders they had violated in suffering themselves to be gained over by William. The irritated king banished Osbeorn; and, taking the command of the fleet in person, set sail for Great Britain.⁶ He entered the Humber; and, at the first rumour of his approach, the inhabitants of the country again rose, went to meet the Danes, and renewed their alliance with

¹ Venit Turolus abbas et 160 homines cum eo bene armati omnes . . . ind his Francisc men. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 177.

² For the mynstres holdscipe. *Ibid.*

³ *Chronicon Abbatie Petroburgensis*, p. 47.

⁴ Sed venerabilis abbas et majores procures qui cum eo fuerant angustias sylvarum ingredi formidantes. *Petri Blasensis Continuatio Ingulfi*, p. 125.

⁵ In locis abditis custodivit. *Ibid.*

⁶ *Florentius Wigorn.*, p. 636.

them.¹ But in that country, so devastated, so drained by military executions, there were no longer sufficient means efficaciously to attempt a great resistance. The Danish king re-passed the sea; while his captains and warriors, continuing their course southward, entered the Bay of Boston, and, by the mouths of the Ouse and the Glen, arrived in the Isle of Ely, where they were welcomed by the refugees as friends and liberators.²

Before William was informed of the arrival of the Danish fleet, he sent with all speed messages to King Swen in Denmark; and that king who, so short a time before, had punished his brother for betraying the Saxons, being now himself gained over—by what means is not known, for there are many obscurities in the history of those remote times—betrayed them in his turn.³ The Danes stationed in their vessels near Ely were ordered to retreat. They did not content themselves with simply withdrawing; but took with them part of the treasure of the insurgents, and amongst other things, the crosses, vessels, and ornaments of the abbey of Peterborough.⁴ Then, as in the year 1069, the Norman assembled all his forces against the forsaken Saxons. The camp of refuge was invested by land and by water, and on every side the assailants constructed dikes and bridges over the marshes.⁵ Hereward and the Saxon chiefs, amongst whom was Siward Beorn, a companion of King Edward's flight, resisted bravely for some time. William had a long raised way begun on the western side, three thousand paces long, over lakes covered with flags and rushes; and, as his labourers were continually molested in their work, Ives Taillebois, who commanded them, bethought himself of sending before them a sorceress, who, by her craft, was to render useless and ineffectual all the attacks of the Saxons.⁶ The witch was placed in great state on a high wooden tower

¹ Et ejus regionis incolæ q̄bviā ei venerunt, et fædus inibant cum eo. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 177.

² Deinde venerunt in Elig, atque Angli de omni paludum terra iis ses adjunxerunt. *Ibid.*

³ Tunc duo reges Willelmus et Swanus in gratiam rediere. *Ibid.* p. 178.

⁴ Unde recesserunt Danici viri de Elig, cum omnibus supradictis thesauris. *Ibid.*

⁵ Navali et pedestri et equestri exercitu, ponte facto. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

⁶ Quādam sortilegam exercitui præponere . . . et ejus carminibus et incrépationibus adversarios non posse resistere. *Petri Blasensis Contin. Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 125.

at the head of the commenced work: but at the moment when the soldiers and workmen were advancing under her protection with the greatest confidence, Hereward, whom the English historian calls the sagacious captain, appeared on one side, and, setting fire to the fields of reeds, destroyed in the flames the sorceress and most of the Norman labourers and men-at-arms.¹

This was not the only success of the insurgents: notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's strength and tactics, their activity arrested his progress, and for several months the country of Ely was completely blockaded like a town during a siege, receiving no supplies from without. There was in the island a convent of monks who, unable to support the famine and miseries of the siege, sent to William's camp, and offered to point out to him a passage if he would promise to leave them in possession of their property.² The offer of the monks was accepted; and two Norman chiefs, Gilbert de Clare and Guillaume de Garenne, pledged their word for the execution of the treaty. Owing to the treason of the monks of Ely, the Norman troops penetrated unexpectedly into the island, killed a thousand of the English, and, closely investing the camp of refuge, compelled the rest to lay down their arms.³

All surrendered, except Hereward, who, daring to the last, made his retreat through the most dangerous places, where the Normans did not venture to pursue him.⁴ He went from marsh to marsh, until he reached the low lands of the province of Lincoln, where some Saxon fishermen who carried fish every day to a neighbouring Norman post, received him and his companions into their boats and hid them under heaps of straw. The boats arrived near the post as usual; and the chief and his soldiers, knowing the fishermen by sight, conceived neither alarm nor suspicion, but prepared their repast, and quietly sat down to it under their tents. Hereward and his followers then rushed with their battle-axes upon the foreigners, who were entirely unprepared, and massacred nearly all of them.⁵ This coup-de-main was not

¹ Occurrebat a latere sagacissimus baro Herwardus de Bruna, arundinetum proximum inflammans, et tam Magam quam milites omnes foco et flamma extinguens. *Petri Blasensis Contin. Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 125.

² *John Stow's Annals*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Præter Herewardum solum singulosque ejus sequaces, quos ipse viriliter eduxit. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Lye. et. Ed. Gibson.*

⁵ Gaymar, a Norman poet quoted by Sharon Turner. *Hist. of the Gallo-Normans*, tom. i. p. 8.

the last exploit of the great captain of the English *guerillas*: he visited several other places with his band recruited afresh; and, wherever he went, laid similar ambushes for the foreign soldiers,¹ unwilling (says a writer of that day) that the fate of his countrymen should be unrevenged.² At length, growing weary of a fatiguing struggle which, unfortunately, could not save his country, he made his peace like the rest; but he had made himself formidable, and, as long as he lived, he kept his paternal inheritance.³

Thus was destroyed, in the year 1072, the camp of Ely, which had for a moment given hopes of liberty to five provinces. Long after the dispersion of the brave men who had taken refuge in it, there were still to be found in that swampy corner of land the traces of their entrenchments and the remains of a wooden fort, which the inhabitants of the place called Hereward's castle.⁴ Many of those who had laid down their arms had their limbs mutilated; and, in a sort of derision, the conqueror set them at large in this dreadful condition.⁵ Others were imprisoned in the castles in every part of England. Stigand was condemned to perpetual seclusion. Egelwin, Bishop of Durham, accused by the Normans of having robbed his church of its treasures, because he had devoted them to the patriotic cause, was confined at Abingdon, and a few months afterwards died of hunger, either voluntarily or in consequence of a forced privation.⁶ And Bishop Egelric was imprisoned in the abbey of Westminster for having, says the sentence pronounced by the foreign judges, disturbed the public peace by the practice of piracy.⁷ But quite different was the judgment passed upon him by the conquered nation. "He acquired," says an old historian, "the reputation of sanctity among men: they who had known him when living transmitted his memory to their children, and at this day neither visitors nor supplicants are wanting at his tomb."⁸

¹ Insidias exquisitas. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

² Inultos abire ad inferos non permisit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 902.

³ Cum regia pace paterna obtenta hæreditate. *Ibid.*

⁴ Quod usque in hodiernum diem Castellum Herwardi a cum provinciælibus nuncupatur. *Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

⁵ Manibus truncatis vel oculis erutis abire permisit. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 181.

⁶ Drepti ecclesiæ thesauri accusatus, in carcerem detrusus est, ubi ex nimio dolore et fame seu spontanea seu coacta obiit. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 703.

⁷ Quod turbasset pacem regiam, piraticam adorsus. *Will. Malmesb. Vitæ Pontif.*, p. 277.

⁸ Nec votis nec frequentia petitorum caret. *Ibid.*

The treachery of the monks of Ely soon received its reward: forty men-at-arms occupied their convent as a military post, and lived in it at their expense. Every morning, the cellarist was obliged to distribute among them their pay and provisions in the great hall of the chapter.¹ The monks complained bitterly of the violation of the treaty which they had concluded with the king. The answer was, that it was necessary the Isle of Ely should be guarded.² They then offered a sum of seven hundred marks, to be freed from the charge of maintaining the foreign soldiers; and this sum, which they procured by stripping their church, was carried to Picot the Norman, the royal viscount at Cambridge. The viscount had the silver weighed; and, finding that there happened to be a drachm wanting, he accused the monks judicially of the crime of fraud against the king, and had them condemned by his court to pay three hundred marks more, in reparation for this offence.³ After the payment of the one thousand marks, royal commissioners were sent, who took away from the convent of Ely whatever valuables remained, and surveyed the lands of the abbey in order to divide them into fiefs.⁴ The monks made lamentations to which no one listened: they invoked pity on their church—once (said they) the fairest among the daughters of Jerusalem—now, captive and suffering;⁵ but not a tear was shed, not a hand was raised in their cause.

Following up its victory over the Saxons, who still retained some wish and hope of liberating their country, William's army immediately marched into the north, sweeping all before it in that part of the country; and for the first time passing the Tweed, entered the Scotch territories, to seize the English refugees there, and to terrify King Malcolm, who, at their solicitation, had the same year made a hostile incursion into Northumbria.⁶ The emigrants escaped this pursuit, in the forests and mountains; but the King of Scotland, being intimidated, personally renounced their alliance, and went

¹ *Infra aulam ecclesiæ quotidie victum de manu celerarii capientes et stipendia. Ex Historia Eliensi, apud Angliam Sacram, tom. i. p. 613.*

² *Ad custodiam. Ibid.*

³ *John Stow's Annals, p. 115.*

⁴ *Quidquid optimum in ornamentis et in aliis rebus . . . quæcumque bona ac prædia ecclesiæ militibus suis divisit. Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 610.*

⁵ *Quondam famosissima et inter filias Jerusalem speciosa, calamitatis nunc oppressa amaritudine. Hist. Eliensis, ed. Gale, p. 501.*

⁶ *Credens aliquos ibi ex suis hostibus indomitis vel profugis apud regem delituisse. Willelm. Malmesb. Math. Paris., p. 5.*

in peaceful state to meet the Norman king. He touched his hand in token of friendship, delivered to him hostages, and of his own accord acknowledged himself to be his vassal and *liege-man*, as was then the expression.¹ William retired, satisfied with having deprived the Saxon cause of its last remaining support; and, on his return from Scotland, was received at Durham by Bishop Vulcher, a native of Lorraine, whom the Normans had put in the place of Egelwin degraded by them and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It appears that the melancholy fate of the Saxon prelate had excited in the north country a violent hatred against the man chosen by the foreigners. Although the town of Durham, situated upon heights, was very strong in its position, Vulcher did not think himself sufficiently secure against the aversion of its inhabitants. At his request (say the chronicles) the king had a citadel built on the highest of the hills, where the bishop and his people might sojourn in safety from every kind of attack.²

Bishop Vulcher, after his consecration at Winchester, had been accompanied as far as York by a numerous escort of Norman chiefs and soldiers; and to that town the Saxon Gospatric who, when he became reconciled to the king, had bought of him for a large sum the government of the country beyond the Tyne, had come to receive the Lorraine pontiff and conduct him to Durham.³ This good office rendered to the cause of the conquest was not sufficient to make William forget that Gospatric was an Englishman and had been a patriot: no subsequent servility could wash out this original stain. William took from the Saxon the dignity which he had paid for, without making him any restitution; and the reason he alleged was, that Gospatric had fought at the siege of York, and taken part in the insurrection in which Robert Comine was massacred.⁴ Having thus experienced, like Morkar and Archbishop Eldred, that submission to the foreigner and abandonment of the national cause were crimes which the foreigner himself took care to punish sooner or

¹ Obviavit ei pacifice et homo suus devenit . . . accepto regis Scotorum cum obsidibus homagio. *Willelm. Malmesb. Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

² Ubi episcopus se cum suis tute ab incursantibus habere potuisset. *Roger. de Hoved. Annales*, p. 454.

³ Suscepit pontificem perducendum. *Ibid.*

⁴ Multa emptum pecunia comitatum. *Monastic. Anglic.*, tom. i. p. 41. . . . quod in parte hostium fuisset cum Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur. *Roger. de Hoved.*, p. 454.

later, Gospatric retired into Scotland, where he was well received by King Malcolm, and where his family long continued to dwell in honour and opulence.¹ The government, or (to use the Norman expression) the *county* of Northumbria, was given to Waltheof, son of Siward, who, like Gospatric, had fought in the Saxon ranks at York, but whose fatal hour had not yet arrived.

After this series of successful expeditions, King William, finding in England a moment of profound depression, or of happy peace (as the conquerors termed it), ventured on a second journey into Gaul, whither he was called by disturbances there and an opposition raised against his power. The last national chief or count of the population of Maine, bordering on the Norman territories, abusing his title and authority, either through self-interest or through weakness, had, before his death, left the administration of his province to the duke of the Normans. William was a stranger to the inhabitants of Maine: but they, too weak to resist, submitted to his usurpation, and ratified by their silence the testament which disposed of them as of private property. They suffered and were silent, until all William's forces seemed to be occupied in England; then suddenly rising in the name of their national independence, they drove from their towns the officers and garrisons of the Norman race.²

It was to assert his pretended title of inheritance against the will of the men of Maine that William came from England, bringing with him an army of Englishmen, compelled by misery to become the soldiers of their enemy. By an odd, though not a singular combination of circumstances, their powerless hatred vented itself against the people of Maine, who, though enemies to William, seemed to the Saxons, by their vicinity and the conformity of their language, to be the brethren of the Normans. The Saxons remembered that Maine had furnished its quantity of adventurers for the conquest of their country; and they did to this territory, which had sent them masters, all the mischief which they would have done to those masters themselves. They devastated it with a sort of frenzy: they tore up the vines; cut down the trees; burned the hamlets;³ and brought the

¹ Privatus comitatu, Scotiam adiit. *Script. Rer. Danicar.*, p. 206. See *Dugdale's Baronetage*.

² Ejiciunt, quosdam perimunt, et cum libertate de Normannis ultionem assumunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 532.

³ Urbes, vicos, et vineas, cum frugibus, depopulantes. *Math. Paris.*, p. 8.

inhabitants under the yoke which afflicted England, and almost to the same degree of distress.¹

While these things were passing, King Edgar went from Scotland into Flanders to negotiate with the count of that country, the political rival though the relative of William, for some succours for the Saxon cause, then more desperate than ever. Finding all his efforts unsuccessful, he returned to Scotland, where he was surprised to receive a friendly message from the king of the French, named Philippe I.² Philippe, alarmed at the Norman's success in Maine, had resolved, by aiding the Saxons, to throw obstacles in his way that should render him less active on the other side of the water. He invited Edgar to come to him and attend his council; and promised him a fortress on the shore of the strait, near enough to England to make a descent upon it, and to Normandy to ravage it.³ Edgar accepted this proposal, and put everything in readiness for his voyage to France. King Malcolm, his brother-in-law, having become the Norman's liegeman and voluntary vassal, could not, without breaking his faith, furnish the Saxon with soldiers for this enterprise. He contented himself with giving him secret assistance in money, and, according to the custom of the age, distributing arms and clothes among the companions of his fortunes.⁴ Edgar set sail; but he had scarcely put out to sea when his vessels were dispersed and driven back by a violent storm.⁵ A part of them ran aground on the northern coast of England, and their crews were made prisoners by the Normans; the rest were lost at sea.⁶ The Saxon king, and the principal persons who accompanied him, escaped both these dangers; and, having lost all, returned to Scotland, some on foot (says a cotemporary chronicle⁷) and others poorly mounted. After this misfortune, Malcolm advised his brother-in-law no longer to struggle against fate, but once more to ask peace of his fortunate rival.⁸ Edgar, allowing himself to be persuaded,

¹ *Omnem provinciam debiliorem simul et pauperiorem multo post tempore reliquerunt. Math. Paris., p. 8.*

² *Misit rex de Francia (of franc-ric) litteras ad eum. Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

³ *Voluit dare ei castellum apud Mustroel (Montreuil) ut inde posset quotidie ejus inimicis incommoda inferre. Ibid.*

⁴ *Magna dona et multos opes ei et omnibus ejus hominibus. Ibid.*

⁵ *Et furens ventus eos in terram conjecit. Ibid.*

⁶ *Nonnulli capti a Francicis hominibus. Ibid.*

⁷ *Alii pedibus iter facientes, alii misere (carmelice) equitantes. Ibid.*

⁸ *Tunc consilium dedit rex Malcolmus ei. Ibid.*

sent a message abroad to the Norman, and William, in his answer, invited him to come into Normandy. On his way thither, he passed through the whole of England, escorted by the Norman chiefs of the provinces, and lodging in their castles.¹ At William's court, he lived at his table, wore his uniform, and gave his attention to dogs and horses, to hunting more than to political concerns.² But, after a stay of eleven years, he had still a feeling of regret, and returned to England to dwell among his unfortunate countrymen.³ He passed his whole life in the same state of irresolution, incapable of taking any decided part, the sport of events, and possessing a character without energy or elevation.⁴

The mournful destiny of the English people already seemed irretrievably fixed. In the silence of all opposition, a sort of calm—the calm of discouragement—reigned throughout the country. The foreign brokers displayed without fear, in the public markets, the stuffs of Gaul, which they came to exchange for the booty of the conquest.⁵ A man might travel (says the cotemporary historian), and carry with him his weight in gold, without being addressed by any one in an unfriendly manner.⁶ The Norman soldier, in more quiet possession of his share of land or money, less disturbed by nocturnal alarms, less frequently obliged to sleep in his hauberk with his hand upon his crossbow, became less brutal, less irritated, less violent in his hatred; and even the conquered sunk into the false tranquillity of servitude.⁷ The English women had to dread fewer insults to their modesty; and a great number of those who had fled into the monasteries and taken the black veil of the nuns as a safeguard from the licentiousness of the conquerors,⁸ began to desire the termination of this forced retreat, and wished to return to social life—ever dear to mankind, even in times of the greatest national calamity.

¹ Et suppeditavit ei viam et pabulum apud omne castellum. *Chron. Saxon. Frag., Ed. Lye.*

² Et ille erat in ejus familia. *Ibid. Willelm. Malmesb., p. 103.*

³ Recessit a rege. *Annales Waverleiensis, p. 133.*

⁴ *Will. Malmesb., p. 103.*

⁵ Fora urbana gallicis mercibus et mangonibus referta conspiceres. *Orderic. Vital., p. 520.*

⁶ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson.* Etiam si aureis thesauris onerati viderentur. *Math. Westmonast., p. 229.*

⁷ Securitas aliquanta habitatores terræ refovebat, . . . civiliter Angli cum Normannis vivebant. *Orderic. Vital., p. 520.*

⁸ . . . Normannorum libidinem . . . pudori suo metuentes monasteria virginum petivere; acceptoque velo, sese inter ipsas a tanta infamia protexere. *Eadmeri Historia, p. 57.*

But it was not so easy for the Saxon women to quit the cloister as to enter it. The Norman priests held the keys of the monasteries, as the Norman laymen held those of the fortresses; and it was necessary that these sovereign masters of the bodies and souls of the English should deliberate in solemn assembly on the question of setting at liberty such women as had taken the veil against their wish.¹ Archbishop Lanfranc presided at this council, which was attended by all the bishops appointed by the conquerors, together with the abbots of Normandy and other persons of high rank. The primate's opinion was, that such of the English women as had taken refuge in the convents in order to save their chastity, ought not to be punished for obeying the sacred precepts, but that the doors of the cloisters should be opened to all who requested it.² This opinion prevailed in the council—not so much, perhaps, because it was the most humane, as because it came from the ecclesiastical chief of the conquest and intimate friend of the conqueror. Such of the female refugees as had still a family, a home, and protectors, recovered their liberty.

About the same time, Guillaume son of Osbert, William's first captain and counsellor, died a violent death in Flanders, where, for the love of a woman, he had engaged in political intrigues.³ The eldest of his sons, called after himself, had his lands in Normandy; and Roger, the youngest, obtained his English domains, with the county of Hereford. The latter, taking charge of his young sister, named Emma, shortly contracted for her a marriage with Raulf de Gaël, a Breton by birth, and Count of Norfolk.⁴ It is not known for what reason this alliance was displeasing to the king, who sent over from Normandy expressly to forbid its conclusion. The parties made no account of this arbitrary prohibition; and, on the day fixed for the ceremony, the bride was conducted to Norwich, the principal town of the county of Norfolk, where (says the Saxon chronicle) there was held a nuptial feast which proved fatal to all who attended it.⁵ There came to it Norman bishops and barons, Saxon friends of the Normans, and even Welchmen invited by the Count of Hereford; Waltheof son of Siward, who had become the husband of a

¹ *Wilkins' Consilia*, p. 303.

² *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 57.

³ *Totus in amorem mulieris. Will. Malmesb.*, p. 105.

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 183.

⁵ *Ubi eæ nuptiæ fuerunt omnibus qui aderant fatales. Ibid.*

niece of the king's, and Count of Huntingdon, Northampton, and Northumberland, occupying one of the most conspicuous places.¹

After a sumptuous repast, in which wine flowed in abundance, the guests began to talk freely, and Roger of Hereford blamed aloud the refusal of William to approve the union of his sister with the Count of Norfolk; he complained of it as an affront to the memory of his father—of the man to whom the bastard unquestionably owed his conquest and his royalty.² The Saxons, who had received from William far more cruel injuries, vehemently applauded the Norman's invectives, and, the minds of the company becoming more and more heated, there at length arose on all sides a concert of execrations against the conqueror of England.³

"He is a degenerate bastard," said the Normans; "and it is proved by manifest signs that God looks not with pleasure on the dominion of such a chief."⁴ "He has poisoned the brave Count of Brittany," said the Bretons, "for whom our whole country will long mourn."⁵ "He has invaded the noble kingdom of England," cried the Saxons in their turn; "he has unjustly put to death the true heirs to this kingdom, or driven them into exile."⁶ "And they who came to his aid," resumed the foreigner, "they who have raised him higher than any of his predecessors—he has not honoured them as he ought: he is ungrateful to those who have shed their blood in his service:⁷ to us conquerors, harassed with toil and covered with wounds, he gave tracts of barren and devastated land; and no sooner does he see them improved by our care, than his avarice takes them from us, or deprives us of the better part of them."⁸ "True! true!" exclaimed all the guests tumultuously; "he is hateful to all men; his death would give joy to many."⁹

¹ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 183. Plures episcopi et abbates cum baronibus et bellatoribus multis. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

² *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 104.

³ Cœperunt unanimiter in regis prodicionem voce clamosa conspirare. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

⁴ Degener ut pote nothus est qui rex nuncupatur. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 534.

⁵ Conanum strenuissimum consulem. *Ibid.* See Book III. p. 153.

⁶ Nobile regnum Angliæ temere invasit, genuinos hæredes injuste trucidavit, vel in exilium crudeliter pepulit. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 354.

⁷ Suos quoque adjutores per quos super omne genus suum sublimatus est. *Ibid.*

⁸ Vulneratis victoribus steriles fundos et desolatos . . . postmodum, avaritia cogente, abstulit seu minoravit. *Ibid.*

⁹ Omnibus igitur est odio; et si periret, multis esset gaudio. *Ibid.*

After this confused discourse, one of the Norman counts rose, and addressing himself to Waltheof, said, "Man of stout heart, now is the moment—now is thy time for revenge and fortune:¹ only unite with us; we design to re-establish the kingdom of England in all things, as it was under good King Edward. One of us three shall be king, the other two shall command in his name, and every dignity in the country shall be held from us.² William is occupied beyond sea by interminable quarrels, and we take it for certain that he will not again pass the strait.³ Come, then, brave warrior: do that which is best for thyself, for thy family, and for thy nation—depressed and trodden under foot."⁴ At these words, fresh acclamations arose; and Count Roger and Raulf, several bishops and abbots, with a great number of Norman barons and Saxon warriors, conspired by oath against King William.⁵ Waltheof entered into the plot, and Roger of Hereford repaired with all speed to his province to assemble his friends. He engaged in his cause many of the Welsh borderers, who joined him for pay, or through hatred for the conqueror, who threatened their independence. As soon as Roger had thus gathered together all his forces he marched towards the east, where the other conspirators awaited his arrival.⁶

But when he would have passed the Severn, at the bridge of Worcester, he found preparations for defence formidable enough to stop him; and before he could discover another passage, the Norman Ours, Viscount of Worcester, and Wulfstan—the only Englishman who still had a bishopric—marched troops upon different points of the east bank of the river. Egelwin, the courtier-like abbot who had made himself the instrument of the extortions and tyrannies exercised by the foreigner against his countrymen, prevailed on the population of the country of Gloucester, by his intrigues, to hearken more willingly to the call of the royal chiefs than to the proclamations and promises of the Norman conspirator. The Saxon inhabitants assembled under the banner of the Norman Gaultier de Lacy, against Roger of Hereford and his Welchmen,

¹ Ecce peroptatum tempus, o strenue vir. *Orderic Vital.*, p. 354.

² Unus ex nobis sit rex et duo sint duces. *Ibid.*

³ Pro certo scimus quod in Angliam rediturus non est. *Ibid.*

⁴ Tibi generique tuo, omnique genti tuæ, quæ prostrata est. *Ibid.*

⁵ Ingenti plausu dicenti acclamant. *Willelm. Malmesb.*, p. 104.

⁶ Allixerunt Britones in suas partes, et congregaverunt suos contra regem. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 183.

whose cause did not appear to them so evidently connected with their national cause as to warrant them in running the risk of his failure. Between two parties, to which they were equally indifferent, they followed mechanically that which offered them the greatest security, and though they hated the king, enlisted for the king.¹ In William's absence, the primate Lanfranc, under the title of royal lieutenant, had the administration of all state affairs.² He sent troops in great haste, from London and Winchester towards the province where Roger was kept in check, and at the same time issued against him an ecclesiastical sentence, couched in the following terms—

“Since thou hast departed from the rule of conduct pursued by thy father—since thou hast renounced the faith which he all his life kept towards his lord, and which caused him to acquire so much wealth—by virtue of my canonical authority, I curse thee, excommunicate thee, and exclude thee from the pale of the church and from the communion of the faithful.”³

Lanfranc also wrote to the king in Normandy, to inform him of the revolt, and of the hope which he entertained of speedily putting an end to it, “With pleasure,” said he, “and as one sent from God, should we now behold you among us. Be not, however, in haste to cross the sea; for it would be a disgrace to us that you should come to assist us in putting to flight a handful of perjurers and robbers.”⁴ The first of these epithets seems to have been designed for the Normans who followed Count Roger; and the second for the Saxons, who were very numerous in the army of Raulf de Gaël encamped near Cambridge, or who, encouraged by the presence of that army, began to stir in the maritime towns of the east, and to renew by messages their old negotiations with the Danes.⁵

The men of Denmark promised for the third time to send land forces against King William; but before the arrival of these succours, the Count of Norfolk's army was attacked, with

¹ Restitut Wulfstanus Wigorniensis episcopus cum magna militari manu et Egelwinus Eveshamensis abbas cum suis. *Script. Rerum Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 207.

² Lanfrancus erat regis vicarius, princepsque et custos Angliæ. *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 15.

³ Te et omnes adjutores tuos maledixi et excommunicavi et a liminibus sanctæ ecclesiæ et consortio fidelium separavi. *Ibid.* p. 321.

⁴ Libenter vos videremus sicut angelum Dei . . . magnum nobis dedecus faceretis si pro talibus perjuris et latronibus vincendis ad nos veniretis. *Ibid.* p. 318.

⁵ Conjuncta rebellio per regiones Angliæ subito erupit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 535. Communiter ad regem Danorum nuncios dirigentes. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

superior numbers, by Eudes, Bishop of Bayeaux, Geoffroy, Bishop of Coutances, and Guillaume de Garenne. The battle was fought at a place called by the historians Fagadon.¹ The Norman and Saxon conspirators were completely defeated; and it is related that the victors cut off the right foot of every one of their prisoners, of whatever nation or rank.² Raulf de Gaël escaped, and shut himself up in his citadel at Norwich: he afterwards embarked to go and seek assistance among his friends in Lower Brittany, leaving his castle in the care of his bride and his vassals.³ The daughter of William son of Osbert for a long time resisted the efforts of the royal officers, and did not capitulate until compelled by famine.⁴ The men-at-arms, who defended the fortress of Norwich, surrendered on condition that their lives and limbs should be spared, but that they should quit England within forty days.⁵ Lanfranc then wrote to King William, "Glory be to God on high! your kingdom is at last purged from the filth of these Bretons."⁶ Indeed many men of that nation, who had followed the Norman to the conquest, being involved in Raulf's disgrace, lost the lands which they had taken from the English.⁷ While the friends of Raulf de Gaël were thus vanquished and dispersed, those of Roger of Hereford were likewise defeated in the west, and their chief captured.

William, before he passed over into England to enjoy afresh the triumph of his power, made a hostile incursion into the territories of Brittany. He wished to pursue his enemy Count Raulf there, and to attempt, under this pretext, the conquest of a portion of the country, which had been a constant object of the ambition and policy of his forefathers.⁸ But after vainly besieging the town of Dol, he retired before the army of the Duke of Brittany, supported by the succours of the King of France.⁹ Then passing the strait, he came to London at Christmas, to preside over the great council of the Normans and to pass judgment on the authors and accomplices of the

¹ In campo qui Fagaduna dicitur. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 535.

² Cujuscumque conditionis sint, dextrum pedem ut notificentur amputant. *Ibid.*

³ *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

⁴ Deficientibus alimentis. *Ibid.*

⁵ Concessis vita et membris. *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 318.

⁶ Gloria in excelsis Deo, Regnum vestrum purgatum est spurritia Brittonum. *Ibid.*

⁷ Reddiderunt terras quas in Anglia habebant. *Ibid.*

⁸ Cupiens fines suos dilatare, sibi que Britones ut sibi obsecundarent subjugare. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 544.

⁹ *Ibid.*

defeated conspiracy.¹ Raulf de Gaël, being absent, was dispossessed of all his property. Roger of Hereford, being a prisoner, appeared, and was condemned to lose all his lands and pass the remainder of his life in one of the royal fortresses.² Even in his prison, his fierce and undaunted character would still prompt him to brave, by demonstrations of contempt, the man he had been unable to dethrone. One Easter, William, according to the custom of the Norman court, sent him, as if he had been free, a complete suit of precious stuffs, a silk tunic and mantle, and a close coat trimmed with foreign furs.³ Roger, having examined this rich apparel in detail, with a sort of apparent complaisance, ordered a great fire to be made, and threw them into it.⁴ The king, who did not expect that his gifts would be received in this manner, was violently enraged, and swore *by the splendour of God* (his favourite oath) that the man who had done him such an outrage should never again see the sun.⁵

Having related the deplorable fate of the son of the most powerful man in England next to the conqueror—the man who had most incited William to the conquest, founding upon it the hope of greatness for his posterity,⁶ the historian of English birth exclaims with a sort of enthusiasm, “Where is now that Guillaume son of Osbert, the king’s vicar, count of Hereford, seneschal of Normandy, and captain of so many soldiers⁷—that man who was the first and greatest oppressor of the English, and whose adventurous cupidity encouraged the fatal enterprise which caused so many thousands to perish? That Guillaume has fallen in his turn, and received the reward which he deserved.⁸ He who had put many to the sword, perished by the sword; and, after his violent death, but a short time elapsed before the spirit of discord raised up his own son and son-in-law against their lord and kinsman. For this offence, the race of Guillaume have been extirpated from England, so that now they have not in it where to set their foot.”⁹

¹ Curiam suam tenuit. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*

³ Structum pretiosarum vestium. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 535.

⁴ Pyram ingentem ante se jussit præparari. *Ibid.*

⁵ Per splendorem Dei, in omni vita de carcere non exhibit. *Ibid.*

⁶ See Book III. p. 150.

⁷ Ubi est Guillelmus Osborni filius? . . . *Orderic. Vital. Angligena*, p. 536.

⁸ Recepit quod promeruit. *Ibid.*

⁹ Guillelmi progenies sic eradicata est de Anglia ut non passum pedis jam nanciscatur in illa. *Ibid.*

The royal vengeance fell heavy on all who were suspected of having attended the fatal marriage feast; and even the town where it had been held was visited with indiscriminate punishment.¹ Multiplied vexations ruined its Saxon citizens, and rendered it uninhabitable to a great number of them, who emigrated into the province of Suffolk, to the neighbourhood of Beccles and Halesworth. There three Normans, Roger Bigot, Richard de St. Clair, and Guillaume des Noyers, seized their persons and made them tributary serfs, although they were at the time too few to be an advantageous property.² Other Saxons, and the Welsh taken in arms on the banks of the Severn, had their eyes pulled out or their limbs mangled, or were hung on gibbets, in pursuance of the sentences of the Norman counts, prelates, barons, and chevaliers, assembled in the palace or court of their chief.³

While these things were performing, a numerous fleet of war, which had left Denmark under the command of a son of King Sven, who had once more become the friend of the English, approached the eastern coast: when, however, the Danes had learned what was passing, they dared not attack William, but slackened sail on the coast of Flanders.⁴ Waltheof was accused of having called them over by messages: he repelled the imputation; but the Norman wife whom he had received from William became his denouncer, and bore testimony against him.⁵ The voices of the assembly, or the *court* (as it was figuratively expressed, the place in which the council was held being taken for the council itself) were divided respecting the sentence to be passed on the Saxon chief. Some were for death, as in the case of an English rebel; others for perpetual imprisonment, as in that of an officer of the Norman king.⁶ These debates were protracted for almost a year, during which time Waltheof was confined in

¹ Quotquot nuptiis interfuerant apud North-wic. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 183.

² De burgensibus qui manserunt in burgo de Norwic abierunt et manent in Beccles XXII, et VI in Husmilgar; et dimiserunt burgo. In terra Rog. Bigot, I, et sub M. de Noyes, I, et Ricard de St. Cler, I. Isti fugientes et alii remanentes omnino sunt vastati, partim propter forisfacturas Rodulfi comitis, parte ppt. arsurum, parte ppt. gestum regis, parte ppt. Walcrannum. *Domesday-book*, tom. i. p. 117.

³ Excæcati, patibulo suspensi. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 183.

⁴ Venerunt ab oriente a Danemarcia 200 naves . . . verum non ausi con-gredi. *Ibid. Math. Paris.*, p. 5.

⁵ Ipsum missis nunciis Danicam classem invitasse. *Fordun.*, tom. iii. p. 510. Per delationem Judith uxoris suæ accusatus est. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 536.

⁶ Secundum leges Normannorum. *Alured. Beverl.*, p. 134.

the king's fort at Winchester. At length his enemies prevailed in one of the courts which were held three times a year, and sentence of death was pronounced.¹ The cotemporary English accuse Judith, William's niece, married to Waltheof as much against her will as the Saxon women were to the Normans, of having wished for and urged this condemnation, which was to make her a widow and set her free.² Moreover, many of the Normans coveted the three counties governed by the Saxon;³ and Ives Taillebois, whose lands were adjoining to those of Waltheof, was one of the most eager for his destruction.⁴ The king himself, to whom Waltheof could no longer be useful, was glad to find a pretext for getting rid of him—a design which (according to the old narrators⁵) he had long entertained.

Early in the morning, while the people of Winchester were yet asleep, the Normans led the Saxon chief without the walls of the town.⁶ Waltheof walked to the place of execution clothed in his count's apparel, which he distributed among some clerks and poor people who had followed him, and whom the Normans permitted to approach on account of their small numbers and their entirely peaceful appearance.⁷ Having reached a hill at a short distance from the walls, the soldiers halted, and the Saxon, prostrating himself, prayed aloud for a few moments; but the Normans, fearing that too long a delay would cause the rumour of the execution which they wished to perform to be spread in the town, and that the citizens would rise to save their fellow-countryman, said to Waltheof, "Arise, that we may fulfil our orders."⁸ He asked, as a last favour, that they would wait only until he had once more repeated, for them and for himself, the Lord's prayer.⁹ They allowed him to do so; and Waltheof, rising from the ground, and resting on his knees, began aloud, "Our Father, who art in heaven——:" but at the last verse—"and lead us not into temptation"—the executioner, seeing perhaps that daylight

¹ *Prævalens concio æmulorum ejus in curia regali coadunata est. Ord. Vital., p. 536.*

² *Impiissima uxore sua novas nuptias affectante. Ingulf. Croyl., p. 903.*

³ *Inhiantibus Normannis ad ejus comitatus. Ibid.*

⁴ *Pro terris suis et tenementis suum sanguinem sitiente. Ibid.*

⁵ *Quæsit occasionem et invenit illum tollendi de medio. Fordun., tom. iii. p. 510.*

⁶ *Dum adhuc populus dormiret. Ord. Vital., p. 536.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Cumque carnifices trepidarent ne cives exciti. . . . Surge, inquit prostrato comiti. . . . Ibid.*

⁹ *Pro me et pro vobis. Ibid.*

was beginning to appear, would wait no longer, but suddenly drawing his large sword, struck off the Saxon's head at one blow.¹ The body was thrown into a hole dug between two roads, and hastily covered with earth.²

The English, who could not save Waltheof, put on mourning for him; and made him a saint and a martyr, as they had made martyrs of the ancient chiefs killed by the Danes, and as they had more recently made one of Bishop Egelwin, who had died of hunger in one of the Norman donjons.³ "They have sought," says a cotemporary, "to efface his memory from this land, but they have not succeeded; we firmly believe that he dwells among the blessed in heaven."⁴ It was rumoured among the Saxon serfs and townspeople that, at the end of a fortnight, the body of the last chief of the English race, carried away by the monks of Crowland, had been found unchanged, the blood being still warm.⁵ Other miracles, springing in like manner from patriotic superstition, were worked at Waltheof's tomb, erected, with William's permission, in the chapter of the abbey of Crowland.⁶ The Norman wife of the decapitated chief was disturbed by the news of these prodigies; and, in order to conjure the supernatural power of the man whom she had betrayed, and whose death she had caused, she went trembling to Waltheof's tomb, and laid over it a silk pall, which was instantly thrown afar off, as by some invisible hand.⁷

Wulfketule, Abbot of Crowland, an Englishman by birth, hastened to publish these miraculous facts, and preached them in Saxon to those who visited his convent. But the Norman authorities did not long suffer him to preach them unmolested.⁸ Wulfketule was cited, as guilty of idolatry, before a council held at London,⁹ in which the assembled bishops and counts degraded him from his office, and sent him as a private recluse

¹ Carnifex autem ulterius præstolari noluit, sed mox exempto gladio. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 536.

² In bivio. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

³ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 537. *Snorre's Heimskringla*, tom. iii. p. 169.

⁴ Cujus memoriam voluerunt in terra delere, sed creditur vere illum cum sanctis in cælo gaudere. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 639.

⁵ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 537.

⁶ Permissu regis honorifice tumulatur. *Ibid.*

⁷ Uxor sua, audiens Christi magnalia, ad tumulum viri accessit, et pallium sericum . . . quod, quasi manibus alicujus, rejectum fuisset, longius a tumulo resiluit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 904.

⁸ Unde Normanni nimium indignati. *Ibid.*

⁹ Ad proximum concilium Londonis summonitum de idolatria accusant. *Ibid.*

to the convent of Glastonbury, situated at a distance from Crowland, and governed by a Norman named Toustain, renowned among all the abbots of the conquest for his cruel and ferocious disposition.¹ The chastisement inflicted on the priest who, by placing the Saxon conspirator among the saints, had incited the rest of the Saxons to merit a similar apotheosis, did not discourage the popular superstition founded on national regret: it was extinguished only with that regret, in times when the Saxons had forgotten the old cause for which their fathers had suffered. But those times did not arrive so speedily as the conquerors wished; and, forty years after Waltheof's death, when the monastery of Crowland had, after a succession of foreign abbots, passed under the authority of one Geoffroy, from the town of Orleans, miracles began again to be worked on the tomb of the English chief.² The English by descent came in crowds to visit his sepulchre, while the Norman monks of the abbey of Crowland turned this eagerness into derision, and spoke with contempt of the Saxon pilgrims, and the object of their pilgrimage, saying, that he was a wicked traitor justly beheaded.³

The Norman woman, whom political interest had forcibly united to Waltheof, inherited all his domains; and even the lands, which the English chief had in his life-time given to the monastery of Crowland in perpetual possession, were taken from it, and given to her.⁴ Judith thought of one day sharing this vast inheritance with a husband of her choice; but her hopes were deceived, and the same imperious will which had disposed of her to procure the desertion of a Saxon, disposed of her to pay the services of a Frenchman. After some time, William, without consulting his niece, any more than on the former occasion, adjudged her, with all Waltheof's possessions, to one Simon from the town of Senlis, a brave soldier, but lame and ill made.⁵ Judith testified for this man a disdain

¹ Glastoniæ sub cruentissimo abbate Thorstano, procul a notis et a sua patria. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 904.

² Ad tumbam Gualleui comitis miracula demonstrari cœperunt. *Orderic. Vital.*, p. 543.

³ Anglicæ plebes ad tumulum sancti compatriotæ frequenter accurrunt . . . quidam de Normannis monachus advenientes derisit, dicens quod nequam proditor fuerit et pro reatu suo obtruncari meruerit. *Ibid.* p. 544.

⁴ *Domesday-book*, tom. i. p. 72; tom. ii. pp. 152, 202, 228, &c. Terra Judithæ comitissæ. Totam hanc terram tenuit Waltef. comes. T. R. E. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 903.

⁵ In altera sua tibia claudicavit. *Ibid.*

which provoked the conqueror, who was not at all inclined to let his policy bend before the weak interest of a woman.¹ The daughter of the oppressor was oppressed in her turn; and the inheritance of Waltheof was taken from his widow, and given to Simon de Senlis, now become Count of Northampton, at no other charge than that of furnishing at his own expense shoes for the king's horses.² Judith, despised by those of her own nation as poor, and hated as guilty of murder by the whole nation of the conquered, wandered about in different places, and concealed herself in various retreats, full of confusion and chagrin.³ The historians, friendly to the Saxon cause, seem to delight in pursuing her through her years of misery, abandonment, and obscurity.

The execution of Waltheof completed the depression of the English people, who seem not to have lost all hope, so long as they beheld one of their own race invested with great power, even though under the authority of the foreigner. After the son of Siward, there was in England no political chief born in the country who did not regard the men of the country as enemies or as brutes. All the religious authority was likewise in the hands of the foreigners, one Saxon alone remaining in the episcopacy, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.⁴ He was a man of weak and simple mind, incapable of any act of daring, and, as has been already seen, one who at the time of the great persecution of the English priests, when those of prouder spirits repaired to the camp of Ely, cordially made his peace with the conquerors.⁵ Thenceforward he had rendered to the conquest every service in his power. He had made pastoral visits, and proclaimed the conqueror's amnesties in the yet but half-reconciled provinces. He had marched in person to the passage of the Severn, against Roger of Hereford. But he was of English descent; and, like the rest, his fatal day arrived.

In the year 1076, Wulfstan was cited before a council of the Norman bishops and chiefs, assembled in the church of the western convent, or Westminster, near London, at which King William and Archbishop Lanfranc presided. The assembly declared the Saxon prelate wholly incapable of exercising the

¹ Illa nuptias ejus despicit. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 903.

² *Dugdale's Baronage.*

³ Odio omnibus habita, et digne despecta, per diversa loca et latibula erravit. *Ibid.*

⁴ Quasi unus ex Anglicis superstes. *Chron. Jo. Brompton*, p. 976.

⁵ See p. 267.

episcopal functions in England—seeing (said the sentence) that he could not speak French.¹ By virtue of this solemn decree, the condemned was ordered to surrender his ring and pastoral staff.² That moment, the peaceful soul of Wulfstan was seized with the same indignation that had formerly inflamed that of the peaceful Eldred, when he, in his turn, fell under the lash of the conquest.³ Wulfstan rose, and, holding his staff in his hand, walked straight to the tomb of King Edward, who was interred in the church of Westminster; there he stopped, and, addressing the deceased in the English tongue, “Edward,” said he, “from thee I received this staff; to thee I return and confide it.”⁴ Then, turning to the Normans, “I will not surrender to you what you did not give me; I give it to one who was better than you; take it from me, if you dare.”⁵ As he uttered these last words, the Saxon struck the tomb-stone forcibly with the point of the staff. This energetic action astonished the assembly; and, yielding to an impression of surprise, or to some superstitious dread, they did not repeat their demand, but left the last English bishop in possession of his staff and his office.⁶

The popular imagination transformed this event into a prodigy; and the news was spread that Wulfstan’s pastoral staff, when it struck the stone, had entered it deeply, as if it had been soft earth, and that no one could draw it out but the Saxon himself, when the foreign judges had reversed their own sentence.⁷ When Wulfstan was dead, and a canon of Bayeux, named Samson, had succeeded him in the episcopacy of Worcester, the native English bestowed on him, as on Waltheof, the titles of *holy* and *blessed*.⁸ This was the lot of almost all men of any eminence who had suffered for their resistance to the power founded upon the conquest.

All this is very strange to us, and to our age; for oppressed

¹ Quia nescivit Gallicum. *Annales Monast. Buctoniens.* Quia linguam Gallicanam non noverat. *Math. Paris.*, p. 20. Propter Gallicæ linguæ carentiam. *Chron. Henrici Knighton*, p. 2368.

² Jubetur baculum et annulum resignare, archiepiscopo Lanfranco præcipiente, et hoc rege præscribente. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 976.

³ See Book IV. p. 204.

⁴ Et dixit, lingua sua, Edwarde, dedisti mihi baculum, et ideo illum tibi committo. *Annales Burtonienses.* *Jo. Brompton*, p. 976.

⁵ Melior te hunc mihi dedit, cui et retraham. Avelle, si poteris. *Chron. H. Knighton*, p. 2368.

⁶ Restitutus est. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 31.

⁷ Baculum in solida petra ita defixit ut a nullo posset avelli, donec ille ad regis rogatum baculum resumeret. *Chron. Jo. Brompton*, p. 976.

⁸ Sanctus Wulfstanus. *Annales Burtonienses.*

nations have now lost the custom of making saints of their friends and defenders: they have moral strength sufficient to preserve the memory of those who have been dear to them, without surrounding it with a superstitious halo. But, whatever difference there may be between our manners and those of the populations that have preceded us on the earth, let not this difference make us too severe judges over them—let not the fantastic form of their national acts induce us to decide that there was nothing national or patriotic in their acts. The great idea of national independence was revealed to them as well as to us: they assembled round it whatever they could imagine of noblest and most brilliant: they made it religious, as we make it poetical; they consecrated it by immortal life in a world of bliss, as we consecrate it by a more infallible immortality in the remembrance of future times and the consciences of upright men.

BOOK VI

FROM THE QUARREL OF WILLIAM WITH HIS SON ROBERT TO HIS LAST VISIT TO THE CONTINENT

ONE of the necessary concomitants of every conquest, whether great or small, whether in war or in petty robbery, is, that the conquerors soon quarrel among themselves about the possession and division of what they have taken from others. The Normans did not escape this necessity of their new condition. When there were no more free English to be subdued, England became a cause of intestine war to its masters; and, odd as it may appear, it was in the very heart of the family of the king of the conquest, between the father and his eldest son, that the dispute first arose. This son, named Robert, and surnamed by the Normans in their tongue Gambier *courte-heuse* or *courte-hotte*, on account of the shortness of his legs,¹ had, before the battle of Hastings, been designated by the bastard as heir to his lands and his title of duke. This designation had been made, according to custom, after the formal consent of the Norman chiefs, who had all taken the oath to young Robert as their future lord.² When William had become king of the English, the young man, whose ambition had been awakened at beholding the rapid successes of the paternal ambition, required his father to abdicate the government of Normandy, and place it in his hands; but William refused, wishing to keep at once his old duchy and his new kingdom.³ A violent quarrel ensued, in which the two younger brothers, Guillaume surnamed *le roux*, and Henri, took part against their elder brother, under colour of filial affection, but really to supplant him, if they could, in the succession which his father and the Normans had promised him.⁴

One day, when the king with his sons was at Laigle, William and Henry went to Robert's lodgings, in the house of

¹ Vulgo Gambiarum cognominatus est, et brevis ocrea. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 545.

² Optimates gratanter acquieverunt. *Ibid.*

³ Postulata denegavit. *Ibid.*

⁴ Guillelmus Rufus et Henricus patri favebant. *Ibid.*

one Roger Chaussiègue, and, ascending to the upper story, they first began to play with dice, after the fashion of the warriors of the time; after which they made a great noise, and poured down water on Robert and his friends below.¹ Robert, enraged by this affront, rushed sword in hand upon his brothers. A great tumult took place, which the king could with difficulty calm;² and the following night, young Robert, with his companions, quitted the town on a sudden, reached Rouen, and endeavoured to get possession of the citadel. In this he was unsuccessful: several of his friends were taken: he himself escaped, with some others, across the Norman frontier, and took refuge in the province of Perche, where he was received by Hugues, nephew of Aubert le Ribault, in his castles Sorel and Reymalard.³

There was afterwards a reconciliation between the father and the son: which, however, was not of long duration; for the young men who surrounded the latter, soon began to stimulate his ambition afresh by their advice and their railleries.⁴ "Son of a king," they would say, "thy father's people must guard the royal treasure very strictly, since thou hast not a penny to give to thy followers. How canst thou resign thyself to such poverty, while thy father is so rich? Demand from him a part of his England; or, at least, the duchy of Normandy, which he promised thee before the assembled chiefs."⁵ Robert, incited by these and other such discourses, went to his father, and renewed his old request; but the king once more refused, and exhorted him in a solemn tone to return to his duty, and, above all, to make choice of better advisers—men of mature age—wise men like Archbishop Lanfranc.⁶ "Sir king," replied Robert, "I am come here to claim my right, and not to hear sermons: I heard enough of them, and was weary enough of them, when I was learning grammar. Give, then, a positive answer to my demand, that I may know what I have to do; for I

¹ In domo Rogerii Calcegii venerunt, ibique super solarium (sicut militibus mos est) tesseris ludere cœperunt, deinde ingentem strepitum facere, et aquam. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 545.

² De hospitio suo rex accurrit. *Ibid.*

³ Tum Hugo nepos Alberti Ribaldi exules suscepit, eisque novum castellum Raimalart atque sorellum patefecit. *Ibid.* p. 546.

⁴ Seditiosi tyrones juveni regis filio . . . dixerunt. *Ibid.*

⁵ Nobilissime fili regis . . . patris tui satellites regale sic servant ærarium, ut vix tuis clientibus unum inde possis dare dænarium . . . cur hoc pateris? *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 570.

am firmly resolved to live no longer on the bread of others, and be no longer in the pay of any one."¹

The king angrily answered, that he would neither deprive himself of Normandy, his native soil, nor share with any one that England which he had purchased by his toils.² "Well," said Robert, "then I will emigrate; I will go and serve strangers, and, perhaps, I shall obtain among them what is denied me in my own country."³ He departed accordingly; and went through Flanders, Lorraine, Germany, and then through France and Gascony, visiting (says the ancient historian) dukes, counts, and rich citizens, relating to them his grievances, and asking their assistance.⁴ But all that he received for the support of his cause he gave to jugglers, parasites, and debauched women; and he was soon obliged to beg afresh, and to borrow at enormous usury.⁵ His mother, Mathilde, sometimes sent him money without the king's knowledge. William, being apprised of this, forbade her so to do: she disobeyed; and the angry king reproached her in bitter terms with distributing among his enemies the treasure which he confided to her care.⁶ He then ordered the bearer of Mathilde's presents to be seized, and his eyes to be torn out.⁷ He was a Breton by birth, named Samson: he fled, and became a monk (says the chronicle) for the salvation of his soul and of his body.⁸

After many travels and circuits, young Robert repaired, under the auspices of Philip King of France, to the castle of Gerberoy, situated in Beauvoisis, on the confines of Normandy. There he was well received by Elie, viscount of the castle, and by his colleague; for (says the ancient narrator) it was the custom of Gerberoy, that there should be two commanders equal in power, and that fugitives from all countries should be received.⁹ There the son of the

¹ Huc, domine mi, rex, non accessi pro sermonibus audiendis . . . hoc fixum est apud me, quod nemini militabo. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 570.

² Natale solum Normanici . . . Angliæ quoque regnum quod ingenti nactus sum labore. *Ibid.*

³ Extraneis tentabo servire. *Ibid.*

⁴ Nobiles expetiit cognatos, duces et comites et potentes oppidanos, illis querelas suis deprompsit. *Ibid.*

⁵ Histrionibus et parasitis ac meretricibus distribuebat . . . egestate compressus mendicabat et ab externis fœneratoribus. . . . *Ibid.*

⁶ Inimicos meos sustentat opibus meis. *Ibid.* p. 571.

⁷ Veredarium reginæ comprehendit et oculis privavit. *Ibid.*

⁸ Pro salvatione corporis et animæ. *Ibid.*

⁹ Helias quoque vicedominus cum compari suo . . . Moris enim est illius

conqueror assembled hired cavaliers.¹ There came to him from France and Normandy several men-at-arms of his father's household: several of those who daily flattered him and lived at his table, quitted their offices to repair to Gerberoy; and, at last, the conqueror crossing the sea, went in person to besiege the castle in which his son had shut himself up.²

In a sortie made by Robert, he engaged in single combat with a cavalier who was covered by his armour: he wounded him in the arm, and threw him from his horse: in the voice of the wounded man he recognised his father; and, immediately alighting, he assisted him to rise, placed him in the saddle, and allowed him freely to depart.³ The Norman chiefs and bishops employed themselves once more to bring about a reconciliation between the father and the son. But William at first resisted their importunities: "Why," said he, "will you solicit me on behalf of a traitor—of one who has seduced my own soldiers against me, those whom I have fed, and to whom I gave their arms?"⁴ However, he at length yielded: but the good understanding was not of long continuance; Robert a third time departed, and returned no more during his father's life.⁵ The father cursed him at his departure; and the historians of that age attribute to this malediction the misfortunes that filled the life of the conqueror's son—misfortunes of which it has been seen that the conquest was the first cause.⁶

From these dissensions, which troubled the repose of the chief of the conquerors, the conquered people of England derived no alleviation of their burdens; for if, in William's absence, the kingly hand (as was then the expression) did not bear upon the people, there were other hands—those of the counts, the viscounts, judges, captains, men-at-arms, prelates, and abbots, of the foreign race—which constantly lay heavy on them. Among the most unmerciful of these ministers of the conquest was Vaulcher le Lorrain, Bishop

castri ut ibidem duo pares domini sint, et omnes fugitivi suscipiantur. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 572.

¹ Gregarios equites. *Ibid.*

² Multi ab his qui regis adulabantur. *Ibid.*

³ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 184.

⁴ Miror quod tantopere pro perfido supplicatis homine . . . tirones meos quos alui et armis militaribus decoravi abduxit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 573.

⁵ A patre recessit, nec postea rediit. *Ibid.*

⁶ Quapropter rex maledixit filio suo, quam maledictionem antequam abiret expertus est vehementer. *Math. Paris.*, p. 10.

of Durham, who, after the execution of Waltheof, had joined with his ecclesiastical power the temporal government of the country between the Tweed and the Tyne.¹ The count-bishop's Norman friends highly extolled his mode of administration, and praised him as equally skilful in repressing by the edge of the sword the rebellions of the northern English, and in reforming their morals by the persuasion of his discourses.² The real ground of these eulogies was, that Vulcher tormented the province with intolerable exactions, permitted his officers to levy tributes after him on their own account, and suffered his men-at-arms to rob and kill with impunity.³ Among those whom he put to death without judgment was one Liulfe, a man dear to the whole country, and who had retired to Durham, having been stripped of all his possessions by the Normans.⁴ This murder, accompanied by atrocious circumstances, raised the popular hatred against the Lorrain bishop and his agents to the utmost pitch. The old spirit of Northumbria was aroused; and the men of that land, so fatal to the foreigners, once more rallied, as in the time of Robert Comine.⁵

They held nocturnal conferences; and unanimously resolved on going with concealed arms to the assembly of justice, held from time to time by the bishop in the *cour du comte* or *county court* (as it was expressed in the Norman tongue).⁶ This court was held on the banks of the Tyne, near the new castle built by the conquerors on the great road to Scotland, in a place called in Saxon *Gotes-head*, or Goat's-head.⁷ There the bishop, from his tribunal, dispensed that oppressive justice which the victor administers to the vanquished; and thither the Northumbrians repaired in great numbers, to address humble and peaceful petitions to their judge. They asked reparation for the various wrongs which had been

¹ Defuncto Waltheof, Walcherus episcopus comitatum Northumbriæ a rege obtinuit. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 703.

² Frænaret rebellionem gentis gladio, et reformaret mores eloquio. *Will. Malmesb. Vitæ Pontif.*, p. 277.

³ Extorsit pecuniam infinitam. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7. Ministris suis durissimam plebis oppressionem permittens . . . aliquos etiam ex majoribus natu interficiebant. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 703.

⁴ Vir toti provinciæ carissimus, qui possessionibus suis a Normannis privatus Dunelmum accesserat. *Ibid.* p. 704.

⁵ Odia et furorem. *Ibid.* Northanhumbri, populus semper rebellionem deditus. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 112.

⁶ Decernerunt unanimiter ut occulte armati venirent ad placita comitatus. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7. In quodam *gemote*. *Chron. Sax.*, p. 184

⁷ Ad Caput Capræ. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 637.

done them.¹ "I will answer none of your complaints," said the bishop, "unless you first count me down four hundred pounds of the best money."² Then the Saxon who spoke in the name of all the rest, asked permission to deliberate with them.³ They all retired for a moment, as if to hold a consultation; but immediately, the orator, who was the chief of the plot, cried out in the English tongue, "Short counsel and good! Death to the bishop!"⁴ At this signal, they drew their weapons, fell upon the bishop, and slew him, together with a hundred men, French or Flemish.⁵ Two English serving-men were alone spared by the conspirators, who respected in them the blood of their own nation.⁶ This popular insurrection extended as far as Durham; the Norman fort there was attacked; but the garrison being numerous and well provided with arms, resisted the Northumbrians, who lost courage, and dispersed after a siege of four days.⁷

On this new sign of life being given by the population of the north, Eudes, Bishop of Bayeux, brother to the king, and one of his lieutenants in his absence, marched forthwith to Durham, with a numerous army. Without taking either the time or the trouble to inquire into the circumstances of the commotion, he indiscriminately took men who had remained in their houses, and had them beheaded and mutilated.⁸ Others purchased their lives only by giving up all they possessed.⁹ Bishop Eudes plundered the church of Durham, and carried off what remained of the sacred ornaments which Egelwin had recently saved by removing them into Holy Island.¹⁰ He renewed throughout Northumbria the ravages which his brother had made by fire, sword, and famine; which second devastation, added to the first, gave to the northern countries that aspect of gloom and desolation which a century

¹ De diversis injustitiis sibi justitiam fieri. *Math. Paris.*, p. 7.

² Nisi sibi antea libras quadringentas optimæ monetæ numerassent. *Ibid.*

³ Unus eorum pro omnibus loquens. *Ibid.*

⁴ Præcipitanter patria lingua dixit, "Short red, good red, slea ye the bishoppe." *Ibid.*

⁵ Et 100 homines cum eo, Franci et Flamigi. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 184.

⁶ Duobus tantum Anglicis ministris ob consanguinitatem pepercerunt. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 640.

⁷ Quarto die obsidionis, obsedentes per diversa disperguntur. *Simeonis Dunelmensis Hist.*, p. 47.

⁸ Miseros indigenos qui in sua innocentia confisi domi resederant, plerosque decollari aut membrorum detruncatione præceperunt debilitari. *Ibid.*

⁹ Nonnulli salutem et vitam pretio redimerunt. *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ornamenta ecclesiæ abstulit. *Ibid.* See Book IV. p. 214.

was not sufficient to efface.¹ "Thus," says an historian seventy years posterior, "were cut the sinews of that province formerly so flourishing—those once famous cities, those towers whose lofty summits seemed to pierce the clouds, those smiling fields, those meadows fertilised by living streams;—the stranger now beholds them with a sigh; the old inhabitant scarce knows them again."² Amid the ruins of these walls which remain but half thrown down, there are still to be seen remains of the works of the ancient Romans—as (for instance) a vault at Carlisle which, though it was filled with wood, and set on fire, could not be destroyed.³

Over this utterly devastated country, the population, half Saxon, half Danish, long kept its ancient proud and wild spirit of independence. When the Norman kings, successors of the bastard, thought themselves in full security in the southern provinces, they did not set foot without apprehension on the territory beyond the Humber; and an historian of the close of the twelfth century, assures us that they never visited that part of their kingdom unaccompanied by an army of auxiliary soldiers.⁴ In the north were longest propagated the tradition of lawful rebellion against the false order established by the conquest, and the race of armed fugitives who inhabited the forests, choosing rather to live among wild beasts than among the Normans.⁵ Political heirs to the refugees of the camp of Ely and Hereward's guerillas, they took as much pride in the title of *outlaw*,⁶ as, in a free nation, is attached to that of *citizen*. History names them not; she has passed them over in silence; or, following the language of the legal acts decreed by the conquering race, she has branded them with epithets which take from them all interest—with the names of *rebel*, *traitor*, *robber*, *bandit*. But let us not be imposed on by these titles odious in appearance: they are those which, in every country under foreign subjection, have been borne by the few brave men who, while the rest of their nation submitted to the chain, have taken up their abode in the mountains and

¹ Provincie illius reliquias quæ aliquantum respiraverunt, funditus exterminavit. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 277.

² Si quis videt modo peregrinus, ingemit; si quis vetus incola, non agnoscit. *Ibid.* p. 258.

³ Nec appositis ex industria lignis et succensis voluit labefactari. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 277.

⁴ Rex si quando partes illas regni adit, non sine magno auxiliatorum comitatu vadit. *Ibid.* p. 458.

⁵ See Books II., IV., and V.

⁶ *Utlaghe*, according to the Saxon orthography.

deserts, leaving the cities to the slaves.¹ Such as had not the courage to follow these brave men's example, would accompany them with their wishes; and—to return to England—while ordonnances drawn up in the French language were prescribing to every inhabitant of the towns and villages, to track the outlaw—the forester, like a wolf,² and pursue him *with hue and cry* from hamlet to hamlet, from hundred to hundred, English songs were circulating, in honour of this enemy to the foreign power, whose treasury was said to be the count's purse, and his flock the king's deer. The popular poets of the time celebrated his victories, his combats, his stratagems, against the self-styled guardians of the public safety—how he had tired out the viscount's men and horses in pursuit—how he had taken the bishop, ransomed him for a thousand marks, and made him dance a measure in his pontifical habits.³

The Norman bishop, Eudes de Bayeux, after his Northumbrian expedition, became famous among his fellows as one of the great *tamers* of the English.⁴ He was chief of the judges, a *chief justice* of all England, Count of Kent, and Count of Hereford—after the poisoning of Roger, son of Guillaume son of Osbert. His pride was stimulated by his renown; and the power which he exercised in England and Normandy, excited in him an ambition for a still greater power, for the greatest of all—the papal dignity. Some Italian diviners, paid by the Bishop of Bayeux, foretold that he should succeed Pope Gregory VII.;⁵ and the bishop, with the aid of these predictions, began to intrigue at Rome, bought a palace there, sent rich presents to those whom the people beyond the Alps still called *senators*, and filled the wallets of the pilgrims from Normandy and England with letters and despatches.⁶ He engaged Norman chiefs and warriors, and among others Hugues le Loup, Count of Chester, to follow him into Italy, and make him a brilliant escort.⁷ King William, who was still in Normandy, was apprised of these preparations; and

¹ . . . Τοῦρκους μὴ πρὸς κύν ουμεν—
Πᾶμεν νὰ λιμεριὰ ζωμεν ὅπου φωλιαξουν λῦκα
Σταῖς Χῆραις σκλάβοι κατοικοῦν.

Popular song of the modern Greeks.

² The Normans sometimes used the Saxon word *utlages*, and sometimes the word *forestiers*.

³ *Ballads of Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, &c., passim.*

⁴ Anglos maxime perdomuit. *Gloss. Spelmann.*, p. 337.

⁵ Quidam sortilegi Romanorum. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 646.

⁶ Palatium sibi emit senatores Quiritum, magnis muneribus datis. *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

they displeased him. Not caring to see his brother pope, though for what reason is unknown, he embarked, and surprised him at sea off the Isle of Wight.¹ The king immediately assembled the Norman chiefs in that island, and before them accused the bishop of having abused his power as judge and as count, maltreated the Saxons beyond measure—to the great danger of the common cause,² despoiled the churches, and lastly endeavoured to seduce and lead out of England the warriors on whose faith depended the safety of the conquerors.³ “Consider these grievances,” said the king to the assembly, “and tell me how I ought to act towards such a brother.”⁴ No one dared to answer. “Let him, then, be seized,” resumed William, “and kept in safe custody.”⁵ No one present offered to lay his hand upon the bishop. The king, advancing, took him by the vestments. “I am a clerk,” exclaimed Eudes, “I am God’s minister; none but the Pope has a right to judge me.”⁶ But William, without quitting his hold, replied, “It is not a clerk, whom I judge; it is my count, my steward, my servant, that I arrest.”⁷ The brother of the conqueror of the English was conveyed into Normandy, and imprisoned in a fortress—perhaps the same, where still languished King Harold’s brother Ulfnoth, whose lot, after fifteen years of such different fortune, was now no worse than his own.⁸

The king’s reproaches to the bishop on his conduct in the north of England (if, indeed, they are not an invention of the historian) seem to have indicated some apprehension of fresh risings on the part of those who had slain Robert Comine, retaken the city of York, massacred Bishop Vaulcher, and who joyfully hastened to meet every enemy of the Normans that came and made a descent on their shores. This apprehension was not wholly groundless; for more than one revolt broke out in the vicinity of Durham, under the command of Bishop Guillaume, successor to Vaulcher le Lorrain.⁹ In the

¹ Ex insperato in insula Vecta obviavit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 646.

² Angliam vehementer oppressit. *Ibid.*

³ Ecclesias spoliavit, militesque meos qui Angliam tutari debuerant seduxit, et trans Alpes. . . . *Ibid.* p. 647.

⁴ Considerate. . . . *Ibid.*

⁵ Comprehendite et solerter custodite. *Ibid.*

⁶ Clericus sum et minister domini. *Ibid.*

⁷ Ego nec clericum nec antistitem damno, sed comitum meum quem meo, vice mea, præposui regno. *Ibid.*

⁸ See Book III. p. 139.

⁹ Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus moritur et fit commotio hominum. *Annales de Maryan. apud Script. Oxon.* tom. ii. p. 3.

rest of England, the conquered showed less energy and greater resignation to their sufferings. But few positive facts have reached us concerning the nature of their sufferings in the latter years of the conqueror's reign; and these relate for the most part to the miseries of the Saxon churchmen, the only class among the oppressed of old England which found historians. Still, from what was ventured to be put in execution against this privileged class, it may be conjectured by induction, what must have been suffered by the other classes, whom no temples protected; and a specimen of internal discipline in an English monastery under a Norman abbot, in the sixteenth year of the conquest, will perhaps help to give an idea of the way in which the towns and provinces were ruled by the counts, viscounts, and bailiffs of the foreign king.¹

The convent of Glastonbury, in the province of Somerset, had, after the removal of its Saxon abbot Egelnoth, been given to Toustain, a monk of Caën.² Toustain, following the custom of the rest of the Normans who became abbots in England, began by diminishing the rations of his monks, in order to render them more docile and tractable; but he was deceived in his calculation; for famine did but increase their irritation against the man whom they openly called an intruder.³ The abbot, either through a national spirit or from a despotic whim, would have his Saxon monks learn to chaunt the service after the method of a famous musician of the town of Fescamp; and the Saxons, as well through their hatred for Norman music as from the force of habit, adhered to the Gregorian chaunt.⁴ They received repeated injunctions to renounce this and some other ancient customs; but they carried their resistance so far as one day to declare, in full chapter, their firm resolution not to change them.⁵ The enraged Norman rose, went out, and immediately returned at the head of a company of men completely armed.⁶ On seeing this, the

¹ Hoc monasterium semper post adventum Normannorum pessimis est infractum laboribus. Abbates enim rerum gloria elati non religiosos sed tyrannos agunt, foris tumidi, intus crudeles et incommodi. *Adamus de Domerham, ed. Hearne, p. 114.*

² See Book V. p. 274.

³ Monachos in victualibus miserabiliter tractare, hinc lites verborum animorumque, discordiæ, quia, ut ait Lucanus, noscit plebs jejuna timere. *Will. Malmesb., p. 254.*

⁴ Ut cujusdam Willelmi Fiscannensis cantum discerent et cantarent. *Will. Malmesb. ed. Gale, p. 332.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Milites et satellites suos phaleratos. *Ibid.*

terrified monks fled to the church, and took refuge in the choir, the gates of which they had time to shut.¹ The soldiers, running after them, entered the church; and finding themselves stopped by the gate which separated them from the monks, they strove to break it and force it open; while part of them were thus employed, the rest climbed up the pillars, and placing themselves on the joists which crowned the entrance of the choir, commenced the attack at a distance, with arrows.² The monks, having sought refuge near the great altar, crept under or crouched behind the shrines and reliquaries; and these, serving them as a rampart, received the showers of arrows, which struck the great crucifix on every side.³ Meanwhile, the gate of the choir yielded to the efforts of those without, and the Saxons were charged in their last retreat with swords and lances. They made the best defence they could, with the wooden benches and metal candelabras, and wounded some of the soldiers:⁴ but the inequality of weapons was too great; eighteen of them were killed or mortally wounded and their blood (says the cotemporary chronicle) streamed from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps upon the pavement of the church.⁵ Another old historian tells us, that he could mention many occurrences like this, but that he prefers passing them over in silence, as being painful alike to hear and to relate.⁶

In the year 1083, died King William's wife Matilda, whom the Normans called the queen. An old account says, that this woman's counsels more than once tempered the harsh and cruel disposition of the conqueror, and inclined him to clemency towards the English; but that after her death, William gave himself up wholly to his tyrannical humour.⁷ Facts are wanting to verify this increase of oppression and misery to the conquered: and imagination cannot easily supply them; for it would be difficult to add a single degree to the calamity of the preceding years. The only apparent characteristic difference between the period of the conquest which

¹ *Will. Malmesb. ed. Gale*, p. 332. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 184.

² *Quidam etiam solaria inter columnas erecta scandebant. Ibid.*

³ *Crucifixum sagittis inhorre fecerunt. Will. Malmesb. ed. Gale*, p. 332.

⁴ *Sese candelabris et scamnis, prout possent, defendentes, quosdam de militibus vulneraverunt. Chron. Henr. Knighton*, p. 2353.

⁵ *De ara in gradus, et de gradibus in aream. Chron. Saxon.*, p. 184.

⁶ *Multa his similia referri possent, verum quia hæc sunt minus læta; his omissis. . . . Ord. Vital.*, p. 524.

⁷ *Istius consilio, rex pacifice cum Anglis tractabat; post mortem vero ipse omnem induit tyrannidem. Anglia Sacra*, p. 257.

followed the death of Matilda, and that which the reader has already surveyed, is, that William, having no further progress to make in his dominion over the native population, began thenceforth to create for himself a regular personal dominion over his own companions in victory. Perhaps necessity had as great a share as ambition in this undertaking; and, since there was nothing more to be taken from the vanquished, the chief of the victors was obliged to levy contributions on the victors themselves for the maintenance of the common property. In the same year (1083), he exacted six silver pence for each plough or each hyde of land, throughout the kingdom (as the old histories express) from every possessor without distinction.¹ The old Norman warrior, worn by the toils and combats of twenty years, found himself compelled to contribute from the revenue of the domain which he had conquered in his days of youth and strength, to the pay of new defenders of the kingdom and the conquest.

This period gave birth to a spirit of mutual distrust and sullen hostility between the king and his old friends. They accused each other of avarice and selfishness. William reproached the Norman chiefs with being more solicitous for their personal welfare than for the common safety—with being more anxious to build farmhouses, rear flocks, and form studs, than to hold themselves in readiness against the native or foreign enemy.² The chiefs in their turn reproached the king with an inordinate thirst of gain, and with seeking, under false pretexes of general utility, to accumulate in his own hands the wealth acquired by the labours of all. In order to settle on a fixed basis his demands of contributions or *money-service* (as it was expressed in the language of the age), William caused a great territorial inquest to be made, and an universal register to be prepared, of all the mutations of property effected in England by the conquest. He wished to know into what hands, through the whole extent of the country, the domains of the Saxons had passed; and how many Saxons still kept their inheritances, by virtue of private treaties concluded with himself or with his chiefs;³—how many acres or *arpens* of land there were in each rural domain; what number might suffice for the

¹ De unoquoque aratro, id est hyda terræ, totius regni sex solidos cepit argenti. *Math. Paris.*, p. 8.

² Ricardus de Rulos multum agriculturæ deditus, et in jumentorum et pecorum copia delectatus. *Ingulf. Croyl. Script. Oxon.*, p. 77.

³ Quomodo incoleretur hæc terra, et a quibus hominibus. *Chron. Saxon. Ed. Gibson*, p. 187.

maintenance of a man-at-arms; and how many men-at-arms there were in each province or county of England; ¹—what was the gross amount of the products of the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets; ²—and what was the exact property of each count, baron, cavalier, and servant-at-arms;—how much land each one had, how many tenants in fee, how many Saxons, and how many animals for the plough. ³

This work, in which modern historians have discovered the marks of genius, and for which they claim the praises, and almost the blessings, of mankind, was simply the result of the Norman king's particular position, as chief of a conquering army, and of the necessity which he was under of establishing some sort of order in the chaos of the conquest. So true is this, that in other conquests the details of which have been transmitted to us—as, for instance, in that of Greece by the Latin crusaders in the thirteenth century—we find the same kind of inquest made on quite a similar plan by the captains of the invasion, who also drew up a great register, containing the names of all the warriors, with a list of their fiefs. ⁴ Yet the Count of Champagne, and his seneschal Geoffroy de Villehardoin, who presided over the work, do not figure in modern history as possessors of great talent in public administration: but this, no doubt, is because their conquest has not endured until our day, and their descendants do not now wear the crown.

By virtue of King William's orders, Henry de Ferrières, Gaultier Giffard, Adam brother of Eudes the seneschal, and Henry Bishop of Lincoln, with other persons chosen from among the administrators of justice and the keepers of the royal treasury, went through all the counties of England, holding, in every place of any note or importance, their meeting or council of inquiry. ⁵ He summoned before them the Norman viscount of each Saxon province or *shire*, to whom the Saxons, in their own tongue, still applied the ancient title of *shire-reve* or *sheriff*. ⁶ They called together, or ordered the

¹ Quot acrae et jugera terrae, quid uni militi sufficere posset, et quot milites essent in unoquoque comitatu. *Anglia Sacra*, p. 257.

² De urbibus et villis et viculis ad quid in solidum ascenderent. *Ibid.*

³ Quantum terrae quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot feudatos milites, quot villanos, quot animalia, imo quantum vivæ pecuniæ quisque possidebat in omni regno. *Florent. Wigorn. apud Spelmanni Glossar.*

⁴ Ἐκεῖνο τὸ Περὶ ἐσο. (*Poem on the conquest of the Morea*, MS. in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*.)

⁵ *Dugdale's Baronage*. Misit homines suos. *Chron. Saxon.*, p. 187.

⁶ See Book II. p. 74.

viscount to call together, all the Norman barons of the province, who came, and stated the precise limits of their possessions and territorial jurisdictions. Then some of the men of the inquest, or commissioners delegated by them, went over every great domain, and into every district or *hundred* (as the Saxons termed it), and made the French men-at-arms of each *seigneur*, and the Saxon inhabitants of each hundred, declare upon oath how many freeholders and how many farmers there were on each domain,¹ what portion each one occupied in certain or precarious property, the names of the actual holders, the names of those who had possessed before the conquest, and the divers mutations of property which had occurred since the conquest;—so that (say the relations of the time) three declarations were required on each estate—viz. what it was in King Edward's time, what it was when King William gave it, and what it was at the time of the inquisition.² Below each return this formula was inscribed—"This has been sworn by all the Frenchmen and all the Englishmen of the hundred."³

In each township it was inquired what taxes the inhabitants had paid to the ancient kings; and what the town produced to the officers of the conqueror: it was also ascertained how many houses had been destroyed by the war of the conquest, and for building the fortresses; how many the conquerors had taken to themselves; and how many Saxon families, reduced to extreme indigence, were unable to pay anything.⁴ In the cities were taken the oaths of the high Norman authorities, who called together the Saxon citizens, in their old council-chamber, now become the property of the foreign king, or of some foreign warrior. In places of less importance, the oaths were taken from the royal prefect or provost, the priest, and ten Saxons, or *villains* (as the Normans called them).⁵ This inquisition occupied six years. In six years, William's commissioners went over all England, excepting the mountainous country to the north and west of the province of York—the five modern counties of Durham, Nor-

¹ Per sacramentum vice-comitis sciræ et omnium baronum et eorum francigenarum et totius centuriatus. *Ex anonym. MS. apud Selden. præfat. ad Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 15.

² Hoc totum tripliciter scilicet tempore regis Edwardi, et quando rex Willelmus dedit, et quomodo sit modo. *Ibid.*

³ Hoc omnes Franci et Angli de hundredo juraverunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Vide librum censualem, *passim*.

⁵ Per sacramentum presbyteri, præpositi, sex villanorum, uniuscujusque villæ. *MS. anonym. Selden.*

thumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster.¹ Perhaps that extent of country, so cruelly devastated at two different times, had so few productive lands, or the division of them was so unsettled, that it would have been useless or impossible to make the returns. Perhaps, also, the Norman king's commissioners had some apprehensions that, if they went and held their sittings in the towns of Northumbria, they should have sounded in their ears the Saxon words, which had been the signal for the massacre of Vaulcher the Lorrain, and his hundred men.

Be this as it may, the rent roll, or (to use the old language) the *terrier* of the Norman conquest, makes no mention of the conquered domains beyond the province of York. This roll, digested for each province mentioned in it, was *modelled* on a uniform plan. The king's name was placed at the head, with a list of the lands and revenues in the province: then followed the names of the chiefs and lesser proprietors, in the order of their military ranks and their territorial riches.² The Saxons who, by special favour, had been spared in the great spoliation, were found only in the lowest ranks: for the small number of that race who still continued to be free proprietors, or *tenants-in-chief* (as the conquerors expressed it), under the king, were such only for slender domains; they were inscribed at the end of each chapter under the name of thanes or warriors of the king:³ a name denoting the dishonourable condition of service to the foreigner, on which they kept their property. There were also other Englishmen whose names were inscribed in the register of possessors, with titles attached to domestic offices in the conqueror's household.⁴ The rest of the names of Anglo-Saxon extraction scattered here and there in the roll belong to farmers, with precarious titles, of a few fractions, larger or smaller, of the domains of the Norman chiefs, cavaliers, bowmen, or servants-at-arms.⁵

Such is the form of the authentic book, preserved to the present day, from which most of the instances of expropriation, occasionally given in the course of this relation, have been

¹ Anno 1086 ab incarnatione Domini, 25 regni Will. facta est ista descriptio. *Domesday-book*.

² Prænotato in ipso capite regis nomine, et deinde seriatim aliorum procerum nominibus appositis, secundum status seu dignitatem. *Dialogus de Scaccario*.

³ Thani regis. *Domesday-book*.

⁴ Venatores, accipitrarii, ostiarii, pistores.

⁵ Nicolaus Balistarius. *Domesday-book*.

taken. This precious book, in which the whole conquest was registered, so that its remembrance might never be effaced, was called by the Normans *the great roll*, the *royal roll*, or the *roll of Winchester*, because it was kept in the treasury of Winchester Cathedral.¹ The Saxons called it by a more solemn name, the book of the last judgment—*Doomesday-book*, perhaps because it contained their irrevocable sentence of expropriation.² But if this book was to the Saxon nation a decree of dispossession, it was the same to some of the foreign usurpers; and their chief skilfully availed himself of it, to effect, for his own profit, numerous mutations in the property of the conquerors—such as the sword had made it—in a word, to establish his personal pretensions to the possession of many lands held by his warriors. He first of all pretended to be the owner, by inheritance, of all that had been possessed by Edward, the last king but one of the English, of all that had been possessed by Harold, the last king, and all that had been possessed by Harold's whole family. By the same title he pretended to the possession of all public property, and the supreme lordship of all towns, unless he had alienated them by an authentic diploma, *par lettre et par saisine* (as the Norman lawyers expressed it).³

It is probable that, in the moment of victory, in that moment of fraternity between the chief and his companions, William himself had not thought the formalities of *lettre* and *saisine* so absolutely necessary; and that those to whom he had said before the conflict, "What I take you will take; if I take the land, you will have it," had believed that, by the right of their services alone, on the security of his word alone, they might venture to take their portion.⁴ But after the conquest, the soldiers of the invasion felt a part of the power which they had erected over the heads of the English, pressing upon their own. Thus William de Garenne's right to the lands of two free Englishmen in the province of Norfolk was disputed with him, because they had formerly been appendages to one of Edward's royal manors.⁵ It was the same with one of

¹ Rotulus Magnus, rotulus Regius, rotulus Wintoniæ. In thesauro ecclesiæ cathedralis Wintoniæ depositus. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 357.

² Al. *Domesdæge boc* . . . ab indigenis sic nuncupatus, quia nulli parcit sicut nec magnus dies judicii. *Ibid.* p. 257.

³ Breve, sigillum, liberatio, saisitio. *Doomesday-book*, passim.

⁴ See Book III. p. 164.

⁵ Qd. pertinebant T. R. E. ad Faganaham, man. regis. *Doomesday-book*, tom. i. p. 172.

Eustache's domains in the province of Huntingdon, and with fifteen acres of land occupied by Miles in the province of Berks.¹ And some lands occupied by Engelry, in the province of Essex, were (as the great roll expresses it) seized by the king's hand, because Engelry sent no one to give an account of his titles.² The king seized in like manner all the lands to which he had pretensions, and the owners of which (to use the language of the time), though Normans, either could not or would not render *an account*.³

Another of his pretensions was, that every domain which in Saxon times had paid any rent or service to King Edward, should, even though held by a Norman, pay the same rent or service to him. This pretension, founded on a succession to the rights of an English king, which could not be admitted by those who disinherited the English race, was at first ill received by the conquerors. Freedom from imposts and services in money, excepting only some voluntary contributions, appeared to them to be the inviolable prerogative of their victory; and they considered the condition of habitual contributors as appertaining especially to the subjugated nation.⁴ Many resisted the claims of their chief, disdaining to receive the imposition of personal service for the lands which they had conquered. But there were some among them who meanly yielded; and their acquiescence weakened the opposition of the rest. Raoul de Courbespine long refused to pay any acknowledgment for the houses which he had taken in the city of Canterbury; as did Hugues de Montfort, for the lands he occupied in the province of Essex.⁵ These two chiefs could evince their proud spirit with impunity: but the pride of men of less power and influence was rigorously punished. One Aubert, called *the fisherman*, not choosing to pay the rent which his portion of land had formerly paid to

¹ Grafham dict. socam regis fuisse et esse, nec breve nec saisitore in vidisse qui liberasset eam Eustachio. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 208. . . . rex Ed. habuit 15 acras, Milo tenet eas, nesciunt quomodo. *Ibid.* p. 56.

² Et quia neque legatus neque alius homo venit ex parte sua qui derationasset hanc terram, ideo est saisita in manu regis. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 15.

³ Rationare, derationare, reddere rationem. *Ibid.*, passim.

⁴ Consuetudo customæ, customarii, *coutumes*. This word is retained in modern English.

⁵ Radulfus de Curbespine habet 4 mansuras de quibus est saca et soca regis, sed usque nunc non habuit. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 2. Huic manerio adjacebant IV liberi homines de IV hid. T. R. E. reddentes consuetudinem; modo tenet Hugo de Monteforti et non reddidit consuetud. ex quo eos habuit. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 2.

King Edward, as appended to his domain, his land was offered by the royal agents to whoever would pay in his stead: Raoul Taillebois paid (says the great roll), and took possession of the domain as forfeited by Aubert the Fisherman.¹

The Norman king also strove to levy on his own countrymen in the towns and on the lands, the supreme lordship of which he reserved to himself, the old tax of the Saxon law. For the English of these towns and domains, besides this tax, rigorously exacted in the name of the custom of the place, and often doubled or tripled, there was another sort of contribution, eventual, arbitrary, unequal, and capriciously or harshly levied, which we should call a poll-tax, and which the Normans called the *taille* or *taillage*.² The king levied this tax upon the Saxons in the cities and towns, and the great roll counted them by heads—"These are the king's burgesses at Colchester: Kelman, who has one house and five acres of land; Leofwin, who has two houses and twenty-five acres; Ulfic, Edwin, Wulfstan, Manwin,"³ &c. The Norman chiefs and soldiers also levied the *taille* on such of the Saxons as had fallen to their share in the towns and the flat country.⁴ This scourge of the vanquished race became strongly rooted in England; and the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons cursed it in terms as bitter as those in which their forefathers had cursed the conquest. "The men of this country," says a poet three centuries posterior, "live in sorrow on account of the *taillage*."⁵ To possess a townsman or a free Saxon meant, in the language of the conquerors, to have his capitation; and in this sense the conquered sold, gave, hired, and lent themselves to, and even divided themselves among, the Normans.⁶ The great roll says, that a certain viscount had in Ipswich two Saxon townsmen—one in pledge and the other *for debt*;⁷ and in another place, that King William had, by an authentic act, *lent* the

¹ Osbernus Piscator . . . sedille gablum de hac terra dare noluit; Radulphus Tailgebose gablum dedit, et pro foris facto istam terram sumpsit. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 216.

² In Latin, *tallagium*.

³ Isti sunt burgenses regis. *Domesday-book*, tom. i. p. 104.

⁴ Omnes isti sunt liberi homines Rogerii Bigot, et Normannus tenet eos de eo. *Ibid.* p. 341.

⁵ The Inglis thorgh taliage lyve git in sorrowful soure. *Robert of Brunne's Chron.*, p. 66.

⁶ Istos liberos homines calumniat Rogerus de Ramis. *Domesday-book*, tom. i. p. 337. Invasit Hugo de Corbon sup. Rog. Bigot mediatatur unius liberi hominis. *Ibid.* p. 278.

⁷ Habet Normannus vicecomes II burgenses, unum in vadimonio contra eumdem, alterum pro debito. *Ibid.* p. 438.

Saxon Edwig to Raoul Taillebois, who was to keep him as long as he chose.¹

Many intestine quarrels in the nation of the conquerors—many *invasions* of Normans against Normans (as they are called in the roll of the inquest²) were also recorded in every corner of England. For instance, Guillaume de Garenne, in the county of Bedford, had disseized Gaultier Espec of half a hyde and half an *arpent* of land, and taken from him two horses.³ In another place Hugues de Corbon had usurped from Roger Bigot *half a free Englishman*—i.e. five acres of land. In the county of Hants, Guillaume de la Chesnaye claimed a domain from Picot the viscount, as forming part of the inheritance of the Englishman whom he had supplanted.⁴ This latter fact, and many others of the same kind, prove that the Normans regarded as their lawful property whatever the old English proprietors whose places they took could have legally laid claim to; and that the foreigner, considering himself in the light of a natural successor, made the same strict inquiries and instituted the same civil suits as if he had been the Saxon's heir.⁵ He cited the testimony of the inhabitants of the district, as to the extent of the rights conferred upon him by his substitution in place of the man whom he had killed or expelled.⁶ The inhabitants, whose recollections were disturbed by the tumults and disasters of the conquest, often gave unsatisfactory answers to questions of this sort; often, too, the Norman, who had resolved to dispute the right of his fellow-countryman, refused to abide by these depositions of the *vile populace* of the conquered.⁷ In this case, the only mode of terminating the dispute was, either a trial by battle, or a sentence from the king's court.⁸

¹ Hanc terram tenuit Havigi et potuit dare cui voluit T. R. E. Hanc ei postea W. rex concessit, et per suum brevem Radulfo Tallebose commodavit ut eum servaret quamdiu viveret. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii. p. 211.

² Invasiones.

³ Fuit Willms. Spec saisitus pr. Regem et ejus liberatorem; sed W. de Warenne sine breve Regis eum desaisivit et II equos ejus hominibus abstulit necdum reddidit. *Domesday-book*, tom. ii.

⁴ Hanc terram obtinuit W. de Chesney per hereditatem sui antecessoris Anglici. *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁵ Hanc terram clamat per antecessorem suum cujus terras omnes W. rex sibi donavit. *Ibid.* p. 215.

⁶ De hoc suum testimonium adduxit de antiquis hominibus totius comitatus. *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁷ Testimonium de villanis et vili plebe. *Ibid.*

⁸ Judicium per regem, in curia regis; judicio seu bello seu duello. *Ibid.* passim.

The Norman *roll* does, in many places, make use of the words *unjust invasion, seizure, unjust pretension*; ¹ and doubtless there is something whimsical in this attestation of the abstract idea of justice in the register of a whole people's expropriation; but this will not seem so odd when it is recollected that every dirty and ignoble profession has a set of cant terms designed to colour, with rather more decent words, those acts and things which the modesty of human nature shrinks from calling by their right names. Just so had the Norman conquest its cant phrases, in which were carefully digested all the laws, ordinances, and proclamations of the conqueror, and in particular the book of the last judgment. This book can be understood, only by the reader's calling to mind, at almost every sentence, that *inheritance* means the spoliation of an Englishman, that every Englishman despoiled by a Norman is thenceforth called the Norman's *predecessor*, that with a Norman *to be just* means to refrain from touching the property of an Englishman killed or driven away by another Norman, and that the contrary is called *injustice*—as is proved by the following passage—"In the county of Bedford, Raoul Taillebois unjustly disseized Lenoir of five hydes of land. which it is well known were part of the inheritance of his predecessor, and a portion of which is even now occupied by Lenoir's concubine."²

Some of the dispossessed Saxons ventured to present themselves before the men of the inquest; and a few obtained the insertion of their names in the register, with terms of humble supplication which no Norman ever employed. These men declared that they were poor and wretched, and appealed to the clemency and mercy of their master.³ Those among them who, after much servile crouching, succeeded in preserving some slender portion of their patrimony, were obliged to pay for this favour by degrading and fantastic services rendered to the foreigner, or received it under the no less humiliating title of *an alms* wrung from his pity. Sons are inscribed in the roll as holding the lands of their fathers ⁴ as

¹ Invasit . . . injuste saisivit . . . injuste dissaisivit . . . injuste occupavit. *Domesday-book*, passim.

² Clamat Nigellus unam virgam quam tenuit antecessor ejus T. R. E. Ipse Nigellus inde saisitus fuit, sed Radulfus Tallegebose eum desaisivit. . . . Tenet quædam concubina Nigelli *ii hid.* *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 214.

³ Pauperes cum matre reclamant. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 203. Ipsi reclamant misericordiam regis. *Ibid.*

⁴ Hanc terram tenuit pater hujus hominis et vendere potuit T. R. E. Hanc rex W. in elemosina eidem concessit. *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 218.

an alms. Free women keep their fields as *an alms*.¹ Another woman is left in the enjoyment of her husband's property, on condition of her feeding the king's dogs.² And a mother and a son receive their old inheritance as a gift, on condition of their offering up prayers every day for the soul of the king's son Richard.³

This Richard, son of William the conqueror, died in 1081, having been dashed against a tree by his horse, in the place called by the Normans *the new forest*.⁴ This was a space of ground newly planted with trees, extending thirty miles, between Salisbury and the sea. This extent of land, before it was converted into wood, contained thirty-six parishes, which the conqueror destroyed, and drove away the inhabitants.⁵ We know not whether the motive of this singular act was purely political, and his especial object was to ensure to his Norman recruits a safe place of disembarkation, where there could be no Saxon enemy to molest them—or (as most of the old historians tell us) he had no other design than to gratify his own and his son's passion for the chase. To this frantic passion have also been attributed the whimsically cruel regulations which he made respecting the bearing of arms in the forests of England: but there is reason to believe that these regulations had a more serious motive, and were directed against such of the English as, on pretence of hunting, might form armed associations. "He ordered," says a cotemporary chronicle, "that whoever killed a stag or a bird should have his eyes torn out; and he extended the same prohibition to wild boars. He even made statutes to place the hares out of all danger. This savage king loved wild beasts as if he had been their father."⁶ These laws rigorously enforced against the Saxons, made a signal addition to their misery; for many of them had no longer any means of existence but the chase. "The poor murmured," adds the above-quoted

¹ *Ibi habet Ældeva libera fæmina 1 hidam de Rege in eleemosina quam eadam tenuit T. R. E. Doomesday-book, tom. ii. p. 63.*

² *Godricus tenuit . . . dicunt se vidisse brevem regis quo eam dederit fæminæ Godrici in dono, quod nutriebat canes suos. Ibid. p. 57.*

³ *Hoc manerium tenuit Aldene Teignus T. R. E. et vendere potuit, sed W. rex dedit hoc m. huic Aldene et matri ejus pro anima Ricardi filii sui. Ibid. p. 141.*

⁴ *Nove Forest. In Latin, Nova Foresta.*

⁵ *36 Matrices ecclesias extirpavit, et populum eorum dedit exterminio. Walt. Mappæus, ed. Camden.*

⁶ *Item statuit de leporibus ut a periculo immunes essent. Amabat rex ferus feras tanquam esset pater earum. (Swa swithe he lufode tha heodor swylce he wære heora fœder.) Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 191.*

chronicle; "but he made no account of their hatred; and they must perforce obey, on pain of losing their lives."¹

William comprised in his regal domains all the great forests of England—places of peril to the conquerors—the asylum of their last opposers. Those laws which the Saxon historians make ridiculous by speaking of them as designed to secure the lives of the hares, were a powerful safeguard to the lives of the Normans; and, in order perhaps the better to ensure their observance, and that the simple stratagem of a disguise in the Norman costume should not avail the English in preparing their ambuscades, hunting in the royal forests was made a privilege, the conferring of which belonged to the king, who could grant or interdict it at pleasure. Several high personages of the Norman race, more alive to their personal gratifications than to the interests of the conquest, were irritated by this exclusive law, wishing the right to the possession of English game to be made common to all who had aided in conquering the English soil;² but so long as the national Saxon spirit was not entirely rooted out of the hearts of the vanquished, this desire of the Normans did not prevail against the will of their kings. Supported by the instinct of political necessity, William's sons, like their father, had the power of preserving to themselves exclusively the privilege of hunting; nor was it until the apparent necessity for this privilege had vanished, that their successors were at length forced, however reluctantly, to abdicate it.³

Then—*i.e.* in the thirteenth century—the woods of the Norman proprietors ceased to be comprised within the limits of the royal forests; and the master of the domain might dispose of his trees as of his cultivated fields: his dogs were no longer liable to have their legs mutilated;⁴ nor did the royal inspectors—*regardeurs, forestiers, verdiers*—lurk about his house, to surprise him in some breach of the laws of the chase and make him pay a heavy fine. On the contrary, the guarantee of the royal law for the preservation of game both large and small was extended, much to the advantage of the descendants of rich Normans; and they themselves had gamekeepers, to kill with impunity the poor Englishman

¹ Hoc pauperes ægre ferebant, verum ita rigidus fuit ut nihili haberet eorum omnium odium, eos oportuit obsequi si vellent vivere. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 191.

² Hoc viri summi conquæsti sunt. *Ibid.*

³ *Blackstone*, vol. ii. p. 414.

⁴ Ne amplius expeditentur. *Chart. Hen. III.*

caught in ambush against the hares.¹ At a later period, even the poor descendant of the Saxons, being no longer terrible to the unjustly rich of the other race, was punished, when he dared to hunt, only with a year's imprisonment, and the finding of two sufficient sureties that he should not for the future commit any offence, in any park, forest, warren, pond, or elsewhere, against the peace of his lord the king.²

Another particularity of the roll of the conquest is, that the conquering king established as a general law, that every title of property anterior to his invasion, and every deed of transfer made by an Englishman subsequently to the invasion, was null and void, unless he himself had formally ratified them. In the first terror inspired by the conquest, some men had given their lands, either in reality or in form only, to the churches, in order to have one more chance of leaving some portion of them to their children, hoping that the domains of the saints would be more respected than those of men. But this precaution was unavailing; for when the English churches could adduce no written proof that the Norman king had confirmed the gift so made to them—in other words, that the king himself had made the gift—the land given by the Englishman was seized on behalf of the king.³ Thus it was with the domain of one Ailric, who, before his departure for the war against the Normans, had given his manor to the convent of St. Peter, in the province of Essex; and with that of one Edric, leased, before the conquest, from the monastery of Abingdon.⁴

In the times which followed the conquest, this law was repeatedly put in force, and every title of property whatsoever annihilated for the sons of the Anglo-Saxons. This fact is related in a positive manner by the Norman Richard Lenoir, Bishop of Ely about the middle of the twelfth century. "From the first moment of the conquest," says the bishop, "it occurred almost daily that the hated and despised English

¹ Si fugit, et occidatur malefactor, non obtinebit jus nec appellum. *Addimenta ad Math. Paris.*, p. 156.

² Et post inveniet 2 plegios qui ipsum manucapient quod deinceps non maleficiet in parcis, vivariis, vel forestis, nec in aliquo, contra pacem domini regis. *Ibid.*

³ Hanc terram tenuit Godid quædam fæmina T. R. E. Hanc dedit Sto. Paulo postquam rex venit in Angliam, sed non ostendit brevem neque concessum regis. *Domesday-book*, tom. i. p. 15.

⁴ Ailric abiit in navale prælium contra Willm. regem. . . . Hic dedit So. Petro istud manerium . . . de hoc manerio Edricus, qui eum tenebat, deliberavit eum filio suo qui erat in Abendone monachus ut ad firmum illud teneat. *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 59.

were driven from their *tenures*, no one ever restoring to them what they had once taken away. On these occasions, they complained boldly to the kings, telling them that, being abhorred by the new race and stripped of everything, their only remaining resource was to emigrate to foreign nations.¹ The kings and their councils deliberated for a long while on this matter; and it was at last resolved that whatever an Englishman thenceforward obtained from his masters as wages of personal service and in pursuance of a lawful agreement, should be irrevocably secured to him as his property for ever; but that, on the other hand, no man of that nation should in future be permitted to avail himself of any right of inheritance or title of uninterrupted succession from the period of the subjugation of the people.² This decision was very wise and manifestly useful; for it was the means of compelling the descendants of the subjugated, by the law of their own interest, to behave in such manner as to gain the good-will of their masters by submission, obedience, and devotion.³ So that no Englishman now possessing a portion of land or any other property, is a possessor by the title of inheritance: he is the owner only by virtue of a donation made to him as a reward for his loyal services and good qualities."⁴

In the year 1086 was completed the great roll of the Normans—the judgment-book of the Saxons; and in that year was held a great convocation of the chiefs of the conquerors, whether laymen or priests. In this council were debated the various claims recorded in the inquisitory roll; and these debates did not terminate without quarrels between the bastard and his Normans. They had stormy discussions and grave conversations (to use the words of the cotemporary chronicle) on the important distinction between what should be definitively regarded as lawfully, and what as unlawfully, taken possession of during the conquest.⁵ Most of the individual

¹ Cum dominis suis odiosi passim pellerentur, nec esset qui oblata restitueret . . . exosi et rebus spoliati, ad alienigenas transire cogerentur. *Dial. de Scaccar. in notis ad Math. Paris.*

² Quod a dominis suis, exigentibus meritis, interveniente aliqua legitima pactione, poterant obtinere. . . . Cæterum autem nomine successionis, a temporibus subactæ gentis, nil sibi vindicarent. *Ibid.*

³ Devotis obsequiis dominorum suorum gratiam emergari. *Ibid.*

⁴ Sic igitur quisquis de gente subacta fundos, vel aliquid hujusmodi possidet, non quod ratione successionis deberi sibi videbatur adeptus est, sed quod solum modo. . . . *Ibid.*

⁵ Graves sermones habuit cum suis proceribus de hac terra. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 187.*

invasions were ratified ; but some were not ; and among the conquerors there was a discontented minority. Different barons and chevaliers renounced their homage, quitted William and England, and, crossing the Tweed, went and offered the service of their arms and horses to Malcolm, King of Scotland.¹ Malcolm received them graciously, as he had received the Saxon fugitives before them. He distributed among them portions of land, for which (as it was then expressed) they became his *liege-men*—his men of faith—his soldiers against all men whatsoever. Thus Scotland received a population quite different from all that had before mingled with its own. The Normans, united by common exile and common hospitality with the Anglo-Saxons who had but lately fled before them, became, under a new banner, their companions and brethren in arms. Equality reigned beyond the Tweed between these two races of men who, on the other side of that river, were separated by all the distance between master and slave. A mutual interchange of manners, and even of language, rapidly took place between them ; and the recollection of their different origin divided not their sons, for it was wholly unmixed with the memory of foreign wrong and oppression.

While the conquerors of the English were thus occupied in settling their internal affairs, they were suddenly disturbed by an alarm from without. It was rumoured that a thousand Danish vessels, sixty Norwegian, and thirty Flemish—furnished by Robert le Frison, the new duke of that country, were assembling in the gulf of Lymford or Jutland, in order to make a descent upon England and liberate the Anglo-Saxon people.² The kings of Denmark, who, for twenty years before, had so often successfully flattered and betrayed the hopes of that people, could not, it seems, resolve to abandon them entirely. The insurrection which, in 1080, caused the death of Vulcher Bishop of Durham, seems to have been encouraged by the expectation of a landing of the men of the north ; for we find in the official despatches addressed to the count-bishop in 1080, the following words—"The Danes are coming : be careful to have your castles furnished with arms and provisions."³ The Danes did not come : and perhaps the extra-

¹ *Ellis's Metrical Romances*, vol. i. p. 125.

² Rumore expeditionis Britanniam usque velificantis . . . ut gentem nobilissimam pristinae libertati restituerent. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, pp. 348, 350. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 650. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 641.

³ Dani re vera reveniunt ; castrum itaque vestrum hominibus et armis et alimentis vigilantia cura munire facite. *Opera Lanfranci*, p. 314.

ordinary precautions recommended to the Bishop of Durham on their account, occasioned the non-success of the insurrectionary movement in which he was slain without any advantage to the cause of Saxon liberty.

But this false alliance was nothing in comparison with that which agitated the nation which had become the mistress of England, in the year 1085. The greater part of the Norman forces were directed towards the east; posts were established on the coasts; cruisers were sent out to sea; the fortresses recently erected were surrounded with new works; and the walls of the old towns which the conquerors had dismantled, were rebuilt.¹ King William had the same declaration published throughout Gaul, which he had proclaimed twenty years before, when about to make his descent upon England: he promised pay and rewards to every horseman or foot soldier, who would come over the Channel to serve him. An immense number came from all parts. Every country which had furnished invading troops to effect the conquest, now furnished garrisons to defend it.² The new soldiers were quartered in the towns and villages; and the Norman counts, viscounts, bishops, and abbots, were ordered to lodge and feed them, in proportion to the extent of their lands or jurisdictions:³ they fed them with the bread, and lodged them in the dwellings of the English, the families being driven from their firesides to make room for them.⁴ The old tax called the Dane's tax, which, before the northern pirates and conquerors levied it, had been raised for the defence of the country against their incursions, was revived, at the rate of twelve pence of that day for 100 acres of land. The Normans, upon whom this tax chiefly fell, indemnified themselves to the full amount from their Anglo-Saxon farmers or serfs, who were thus made to pay for repelling the Danes coming to their assistance what their ancestors had paid for repelling them when they came as enemies.⁵

A detachment of soldiers well practised in the art of de-

¹ *Scriptores Rer. Danicar.*, tom. ii. p. 350.

² Cum tanto exercitu equitum et peditum e Francorum regno atque e Britannia quantus antea nunquam terram hanc petebat. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 186.

³ Pro sua quisque terræ portione. *Ibid. Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 641.

⁴ Ita urbium ædes replebantur, et ut vix suis domestici focis assidere viderentur. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. ii. p. 350.

⁵ Danigeldi redditio propter piratas primitus statuta est ad eorum insolentiam reprimendam. *Wilkins*, p. 312. See Book II. p. 82.

vastation, were sent through the north-east part of England to make it uninhabitable, alike to the Danes if they came and landed there, and to the English, who were suspected of desiring such descent.¹ On the sea-coast, within a vessel's reach, not an animal, not a fruit tree, was left. The Saxon population was of necessity crowded into the interior; and as the last precaution against a good understanding between that population and the Danes, a royal proclamation which was published in all places near the sea, ordered all men of the English race to wear Norman clothes, to carry Norman arms, and to shave their beards like the Normans.² The object of this whimsical order was to prevent the Danes from distinguishing the friends whom they came to succour from the enemies whom they came to fight.³ It was hoped that, deceived by this disguise, the Danes would attack the Saxons, who, being forced in their own defence to resist, and carried away by the heat of action, would perhaps follow up the combat against their own allies, to the advantage of their conquerors.

All these precautions were not the fruits of causeless terror: a numerous fleet, destined for England, was really at anchor off the coast of Denmark. Olaf Kyr, King of Norway, son and successor of that Harold who, when he would have conquered the country of the English, obtained in it only seven feet of earth, was now coming to assist the people who had conquered and slain his father—not, perhaps, taking clearly into the account the change in the destinies of that people, but thinking that he was going to avenge Harold.⁴ As for the King of Denmark, Knut son of Swen, the promoter of the war, and supreme chief of the armament, he perfectly comprehended the revolution operated in England by the Norman conquest, and it was with a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs that he sought to assist the conquered against the conquerors. “He had yielded,” say the Danish historians, “to the supplications of the English exiles, the messages received from England, and the pity which he felt for the miseries of a race allied with his own, whose men of rank, wealth, and consideration, were

¹ *Experti sunt incolæ multos dolores, et rex permisit devastari omnes terras maritimas. Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 186.*

² *Anglis autem quibus non minimi desiderii exercitus adventum didicerat, barbas radere, armas et exuvias ad instar Romanorum coaptare, per omnia Francigenis, quos et Romanos dici prætulimus, assimilare præcepit. Script. Rer. Danic., tom. iii. p. 350.*

³ *Ad deludendum adventantium visus. Ibid.*

⁴ *Snorre's Heimskringla, tom. ii. p. 186.*

all slain or banished, and which was wholly reduced to political slavery under the foreign race of the *French* or *Romans*." ¹

Indeed these were the only two names by which the people of Normandy were known in the north of Europe, when the last remains of the Danish tongue had perished at Rouen and Bayeux.² Though it was still easy for the Normans of Gaul to prove their Scandinavian descent, while forgetting the idiom which was its visible mark, they had lost their title in the family compact which, notwithstanding the frequent hostilities produced by the momentary impulse of passion, secretly united the Teutonic populations. But the Anglo-Saxons were still entitled to the benefit of this fraternity of origin: this was acknowledged by the king of the Danes, as the chronicles of his nation testify; and, if his enterprise was not wholly unconnected with views of personal ambition, it was at least ennobled by the feeling of duty to humanity and to kindred. The fleet was kept in harbour longer than had been expected; and during this delay, emissaries from the Norman king, as cunning and adroit as their master, corrupted, with the gold of England, several of the Danish counsellors and captains.³ The delay, at first involuntary, was prolonged by intrigue. The men secretly sold to William—the Danish bishops especially, most of whom suffered themselves to be bought—repeatedly succeeded in preventing King Knut from setting sail, by conjuring up unforeseen difficulties and embarrassments.⁴ Meanwhile, the soldiers, fatigued with a useless encampment, complained and murmured under their tents: they requested that they might not be sported with; but that they might either immediately embark, or be sent back to their homes, their tillage, and their traffic. They next held secret councils, and caused the deputies, whom they appointed, to notify to the king their resolution to disband themselves, unless the order for departure were given without further delay.⁵ King Knut had recourse to severity, for the restoration of dis-

¹ Siquidem inclytis eorum ducibus et nobilibus diversæque dignitatis personis, ferro interemptis, hæreditate privatis nativo solo exterminatis, reliquis veluti publica servitute oppressis . . . quorum et angustiis pius heros incitatus, incommodum eorum succurrendum decrevit, et ut gentem nobilissimam pristinae libertati restitueret, et *Romanorum* seu *Francigenarum* insolentiam puniret, classem. . . . *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. iii. p. 348.

² See Book II. p. 96.

³ *Adamus Bremensis, apud Script. Rer. Danicar. Torfsæi Hist. Norweg.*

⁴ Vulgus impatiens moræ et littoræ detentionis, præstolationes domesticis inutilis negotiis quærebat. *Script. Rer. Danic.*, tom. ii. p. 352.

⁵ Consilio crebrius inito, regi nuncios. . . . *Ibid.*

cipline: he imprisoned the chiefs, and subjected the revolting army to the payment of a fine of so much per head. These measures, far from allaying the ferment, increased it to such a degree, that in the month of July 1086, there was a general commotion, in which the king was killed by the soldiers.¹ This was the signal for a civil war, which involved all Denmark: and from that moment, the Danish people, occupied with their domestic quarrels, forgot the Anglo-Saxons, their slavery, and all their woes.

This was the last time that the sympathy of the Teutones of the north seemed to be excited in favour of the Teutonic race inhabiting England. By degrees, the English nation, despairing of their own cause, ceased to court the remembrance and good-will of the people of the north by messages and solicitations. The exiles of the conquest went into foreign countries, where they left behind them children who, forgetting the land of their ancestors, knew no country but that in which they were born.² And in course of time, the Danish ambassadors and travellers who visited England, hearing in the houses of the great and rich none but the Roman tongue of Normandy, and paying scarcely any attention to the language spoken by the English tradesmen in their shops, or the herdsmen in their hovels, imagined either that the whole population of the country was Norman, or that the language of the country had changed since the invasion by the Normans.³ Who, indeed, that saw the French troubadours going from town to town, and from castle to castle, charming the ears and enjoying the favour of the higher class of the inhabitants of England, could think that, but sixty years before, the scaldes of the north had enjoyed the same favour with the English chiefs and kings?⁴ Thus, from the twelfth century, England was regarded by the northern nations as a country whose language was absolutely foreign to them. This opinion became so strong, that in the civil laws and the *droits d'aubaine* of England and Norway, the English were, in course of time,

¹ *Script. Rer. Danic.*, p. 352.

² Ipsorum etiam Anglorum qui in Daniam tædio Normannorum dominationis profugi. *Dania Isaaci Pontani*, p. 197.

³ Lingua vero in Anglia mutata est, ubi Willelmus Nothus Angliam subegit; ex eo enim tempore invaluit in Anglia lingua Gallica (Walske). *Sagan af Gunnlaugi*, p. 88.

⁴ Gunnlaugus (Islandensis) ad regem Ethelredum accessit . . . "Carmen de te composui cui vellem audiendo vacares." Rex ita convenit, unde Gunnlaugus recitavit. Eadem tunc Angliæ quæ Daniæ et Norvegiæ fuit lingua. *Ibid.*

classed among those foreigners who were the least favourably treated. For example, in the code which bears the name of King Magnus, we find, in the article *successions*, this formula—"If men of the English race, or of any other still less known to us. . . . If Englishmen, or other men, whose speech has no resemblance to our own. . . ." ¹ But this want of resemblance could not be understood of the mere diversity of dialects; for, even at this day, the popular language of the northern provinces of England is strictly intelligible to a Dane or Norwegian.²

In the year 1086, there was held at Salisbury—some say at Winchester—a general meeting of the conquerors, or sons of the conquerors of England. Every dignified man, whether priest or layman, came at the head of his men-at-arms and the feudatories of his domain. Their number was about sixty thousand, all possessing at least a portion of land sufficient for keeping a horse and a complete set of arms and armour.³ They all in succession renewed their oaths of faith and homage to King William, touching his hands, and repeating this formula—"From this hour forward, I become your liege-man in life and in limb, to bear you honour and faith at all times, for the land which I hold from you. So help me God."⁴

The armed colony then separated, to return each to his possessions; and it was probably at the moment of this separation, that the king's heralds published in his name the following ordinances.⁵

"We firmly will and ordain, that the counts, barons, cavaliers, servants-at-arms, and all the free men of this kingdom, be and hold themselves fitly provided with horses and arms, in order to be entirely and at all times in readiness to render to us the lawful service which they owe to us for their lands and tenures."⁶

¹ Si jam Angli aut alii qui communi sermone nobiscum non utuntur . . . si homines Angli vel alii magis adhuc nobis ignoti. . . . *Magnæus—Codex de Hæreditatibus, apud Script. Rer. Danic.*, p. 247.

² The difference lies wholly in the French words which have been introduced in great number.

³ Omnes terrarii. *Annales Waverleiensis*. Ealle-land sittonde menn. *Chron. Saxon.*, p. 187. Et 60,000 militum invenit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 649.

⁴ *Formules Anglo-Normands. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 187. *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 229.

⁵ Quos omnes dum necesse esset paratos esse præcepit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 649.

⁶ Statuimus et firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes comites et barones et milites et servientes et liberi homines totius regni nostri habeant et teneant se semper bene equis et armis ut decet et oportet. *Notæ ad Eadmerum ed. Selden*, p. 191.

"We will that all the free men of this kingdom be sworn and leagued together as brethren in arms, to defend, maintain, and keep it, to the utmost of their power.¹

"We will that all the cities, towns, fortresses, and hundreds of this kingdom, be watched every night, and that the watch be regularly set and relieved—against enemies and evil-doers.²

"We will that all men, throughout the kingdom, whom we have brought from beyond sea, or who have come over after us, be under our especial peace and protection: and if any one of them happen to be killed, his chief shall seize the murderer within five days;—otherwise he shall pay a fine to us, conjointly with the Englishmen of the district where the murder shall have been committed.³

"We will that the free men of this kingdom hold their lands and possessions well and peaceably, free from all exaction and all tallage, so that nothing be taken from or asked of them but the free service which they owe and are bound to render us perpetually, for their lands and tenures.⁴

"We will that all men observe and maintain the laws of King Edward, and those which we have established for the advantage of the English and the common good of the whole kingdom."⁵

This vain expression, *the laws of King Edward*, was all that thenceforward remained to the Anglo-Saxon nation of its ancient existence; for the condition of every individual in it had been changed by the Norman conquest. That conquest exhibited anew all the features of the former conquest by the Danes, as handed down to us by cotemporary authors. From the greatest to the least, every individual of the conquered people had sunk below his former condition. The chief had lost his power, the rich man his wealth, the free man his independence; and he who, according to the hard custom of the time, had been born a slave in another's house, became the serf of a foreigner, and no longer obtained those little

¹ *Præcipimus ut omnes liberi homines totius regni prædicti sint fratres conjurati. Notæ ad Eadmerum ed. Selden, p. 191.*

² *Singulis noctibus vigilantur et custodiantur in gyrum. Ibid.*

³ *Ut omnes homines quos nobiscum adduximus, aut qui post nos venerint, sint sub protectione et pace nostra per universum regnum, et si quis de illis occisus fuerit. . . . Ibid. p. 190.*

⁴ *Ut omnes liberi homines . . . habeant terras suas bene et in pace, et liberi sint ab omni exactione injusta et ab omni tallagio. Ibid. p. 192.*

⁵ *Ut omnes habeant et teneant legem Edwardi regis, in omnibus rebus, adauctis iis quas constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum. Ibid.*

indulgences which the habit of living together, and the community of language, induced on the part of his old master: or, indeed, that master having himself lost his freedom, a double burden of servitude lay upon the slave.¹ The English towns and villages were farmed out by the foreign counts and viscounts to contractors, who made the most of them as private property, without exercising any administrative functions. The king speculated in like manner on the great cities and immense lands composing his domains.² "He let his towns and lands," say the chronicles, "at the very highest price; then, if some other contractor came and offered more, the farm was granted to him; and if, after all, a third came and bade higher, it was definitively adjudged to him."³ He adjudged to the highest bidder, giving himself no concern about the enormous injustices committed by his lessees. The king and all his chiefs were avaricious to excess; and, if but a single crown glittered in their eyes, would do anything to get possession of it."⁴

William had, as his share of the conquest, nearly fifteen hundred manors; he was the supreme and irrevocable chief of the conquerors of England: yet he was not happy. When, in the sumptuous assemblies which he held three times a year, with the crown of gold on his head, either in London, at Winchester, or at Gloucester, his companions in victory, and the prelates whom he had instituted, came and placed themselves around him, his look was stern and gloomy,⁵ he seemed full of care and uneasiness: for his mind was constantly tortured by the possibility of a change of fortune; he placed no reliance on the fidelity of his Normans, nor on the depression of the English people. The human heads on which he trod, were in his eyes a ground not sufficiently firm and secure: he tormented himself about his own future years and the fate

¹ Et jus libertatis est abruptum, et jus mancipii coangustatum. *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, apud Hickes. Thesaur. Ling. Sept.*, tom. ii. p. 99.

² He sette his townes and londs to ferme well fast. *Robert of Gloucester's Chron.*, p. 378.

³ Prætio quam potuit maximo . . . tunc accedens alius quispiam qui plus obtulit . . . tertius . . . cui rex terram concessit. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 188.

⁴ Et non curabat quanto peccato præpositi census a pauperibus hominibus acquisissent. . . . Rex et optimates supra modum cupidi erant auri et argenti. *Annales Waverleiensis*, p. 134. Faceret, diceret pæne omnia ubi spes nummi effluisset. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 112.

⁵ Ter gessit coronam suam in anno. . . . *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 190. Feritate qua omnibus videbatur sævus et formidabilis. *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 13.

of his children; and put questions concerning his presentiments to men reputed wise, in an age when divination was a part of wisdom. A Norman poet, almost cotemporary, represents him seated in the midst of his English and Norman priests, and soliciting of them, with puerile importunity, a decisive exposition of the fate of his posterity. At every word that fell from their lips, this great conqueror trembled before them, as an Anglo-Saxon serf or citizen would have trembled in his presence.¹

At the commencement of the year 1087, having reduced to a regular, if not a lawful order, the turbulent and varying results of the conquest—having ascertained the number of warriors bound to him, by oath and fealty, then upon the English soil, William once more quitted that soil, and crossed the sea, loaded (say the old historians) with innumerable maledictions.² He crossed it, never again to return; for death detained him on the other shore. Among the laws and ordinances which he left in England, there are two which deserve a particular mention, as especially relating to the preservation of the order established by the conquest.³ The first of these, which is but a repetition of one of the articles of a proclamation given in a preceding page—if, indeed, the proclamation itself be not a duplicate of the law—had for its object to repress the assassinations committed on members of the victorious nation. It was couched in these terms—"When a Frenchman is killed, the men of the hundred shall seize and bring up the murderer within eight days; otherwise, they shall pay, at their common cost, a fine of 47 marks of silver."⁴

A Norman writer of the twelfth century makes the following exposition of the motive of this law. "In the early days of the new order of things which followed the conquest, such of the English as were suffered to live, were continually laying ambushes for the Normans, whom they detested,⁵ and murdering all whom they found alone in desert or solitary places. In revenge for these assassinations, King William and his captains

¹ *The anonymous continuer of Brus, quoted in the Transactions of the London Antiquarian Society, vol. xiii. p. 245.*

² *In Normanniam innumeris maledictionibus laquestris transfretavit. Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 258.*

³ *Quædam de iis quæ nova per Angliam servari constituit. Eadmer. Hist., p. 6.*

⁴ *Ki freceis occist, et les homes del hundred nel prengent et amenent a la justise. . . . Leges Wi. cong. apud Ingulf. ed. Gale, p. 90.*

⁵ *Qui relictis fuerant de Anglicis subactis in exosam sibi Normannorum gentem. Dialog. de Scaccar. in notis ad Math. Paris.*

inflicted on the subjugated the most refined punishments, the most exquisite tortures :¹ but these chastisements had scarcely any effect. It was then decreed that every district, or *hundred*, in which a Norman should be found dead, without any individual's being suspected of committing the assassination, should, nevertheless, pay a heavy sum of money to the royal treasury. The fear of this salutary punishment, inflicted upon all the inhabitants in a body, must, it was considered, ensure the safety of passengers, by inducing the men of the place to denounce and give up the guilty, whose solitary fault occasioned an enormous loss to the whole neighbourhood."²

The men of the hundred in which the Frenchman was found dead, had no other means of escaping this loss than that of destroying every outward mark that could prove the corpse to be that of a Frenchman ; for then the hundred was not responsible, and the Norman judges did not impose the fine. But the judges foresaw this artifice, and frustrated it. By a rather odd kind of proceeding, every man found assassinated was considered as French, unless the hundred judiciously proved that he was of Saxon birth ; which proof must be given before the royal judge, on the oaths of two men and two women, the nearest of kin to the deceased, on the father's and on the mother's side.³ Without these four witnesses, the deceased's quality of Englishman—his *Englishry* (as the Normans expressed it) was not sufficiently established, and the hundred must pay the fine.⁴ More than three centuries after the invasion (as the antiquarians testify) this inquest was held in England on the body of every assassinated man ; and, in the legal language, it was still called *presentment of Englishry*.⁵

The other law of the conqueror was designed to increase in an exorbitant degree the authority of the bishops of

¹ Per aliquot annos reges et eorum ministri exquisitis tormentorum generibus in Anglicos desæverint. *Dialog. de Scaccar. in notis ad Math. Paris.*

² Ut scilicet pœna generaliter inflictâ prætereuntium indemnitate procuraret, et festinaret quisque offerre iudicio per quem tam enormis jactura totam lædebat viciniam. *Ibid.*

³ Interfectus pro Francigena reputabatur, nisi. . . . *Bracton*, lib. iii. *Fleta*, lib. ii. cap. xxx. §§ 1 and 2. Coram justitiariis per duos masculos ex parte patris et per duas fœminas ex parte matris de propinquoribus parentibus interfecti. *Ibid.*

⁴ Nisi legaliter constaret de Englescheria interfecti. *Gloss. Spelmanni*, p. 195. *Fleta* writes *Anglescheria*. The Normans sometimes pronounced *Anglech*, *Englech*, for *Anglez*, *Englez*, and *Anglécherie* for *Anglezerie*.

⁵ *Présentement d'Anglécherie*. *Blackstone*. This law was not abrogated until the year 1341, by a statute of Edward III.

England. These bishops were all Normans; their power was to be exercised entirely for the advantage of the conquest; and, as the warriors, who had made that conquest, maintained it by the sword and the lance, so it was for the churchmen to uphold it by their address, and by deluding the popular opinion. To these reasons of general utility was added a more personal motive, as regarding King William: for the bishops of England, though installed by the common council of all the Norman chiefs, had been chosen from among the chaplains, the creatures, and the private friends of the king.¹ In William's life-time, no intrigue disturbed this arrangement. He never met with a bishop who had any other will than his own. He had used religion as a warlike engine: that engine was in his hands, and he did not even imagine that it could ever be turned against his kingly power. The state of things, it is true, altered under the kings who succeeded him: but the conqueror could not foresee the future; and the experience of his whole reign justified him in making the following ordinance—

“William, by the grace of God, King of England, to the counts, viscounts, and all other men, French, and English, of all England, greeting. Be it known to you, and all others my faithful subjects, that, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and lords, of my whole kingdom, I have thought fit to amend the episcopal laws which, improperly and in contradiction to the canons, were, until the time of my conquest, in force in this country.² I ordain that, henceforward, no bishop nor archdeacon repair to the justice-meeting of the hundred, to plead in episcopal causes—nor even submit, to the judgment of secular men, proceedings relating to the government of souls. I will, that whosoever shall be summoned, for whatever cause, by the episcopal judicature, repair to the bishop's house, or to such other place as the bishop himself shall choose and appoint;³—that he there plead his cause, and render what is right to God and to the bishop—not according to the laws of the country,

¹ *Anglia Sacra* and *Wilkins' Concilia*, passim.

² Sciatis vos omnes et cæteri mei fideles quod episcopales leges quæ non bene nec secundum canones usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerint . . . emendandas judicavi. *Seldeni Analecton*, p. 130. *Ejusdem Notæ ad Eadmer.*, p. 187. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 308.

³ Nec causas quæ ad regimen animarum pertinent ad judicium sæcularium hominum adducant. Sed quicumque per episcopales leges, de quacumque causa, interpellatus fuerit, ad locum quem ad hoc episcopus elegerit et nominaverit, veniat. *Ibid.*

but according to the canons and episcopal decrees;¹—that if any one, through an excess of pride, refuse to repair to the bishop's tribunal, he shall receive notice once, twice, or thrice; and if, after three successive notices, he does not appear, he shall be excommunicated, and, if need be, the force and justice of the king and the viscount shall be employed against him."²

By virtue of this law, was effected in England the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil tribunals; and thus was established for the former an absolute independence of all political power—an independence which they had never enjoyed in the days of Anglo-Saxon liberty. In those days, the bishops were obliged to go to the justice-meeting held twice a year in each province, or three times a year in each district. They joined their accusations with the charges laid by the ordinary magistrates, and gave their judgment conjointly with the freemen of the district on those trials in which the custom of the age permitted them to interfere—in the causes of widows, orphans, and churchmen, and those relating to marriage and divorce. For these causes, as for all others, there was but one law, one judgment, one tribunal;—the only difference being, that when they came to be debated, the bishop took his seat beside the sheriff and the *elder*³ or ancient of the province: the sworn witnesses answered to the facts, and the judges decided on the law of the case, as in civil causes.⁴ This change in the national usages is to be dated only from the time of the Norman conquest. It was the foreign conqueror who, breaking through the ancient practice of civil equality, raised the higher clergy of England to the power of judging by themselves, holding a tribunal in their own houses, and disposing of the public force to drag thither those under their jurisdiction.⁵ In short, it was he who first subjected the kingly power to the obligation of executing the sentences passed

¹ Et non secundum hundred sed secundum canones et episcopales leges, rectum Deo et episcopo faciat. *Seldeni Notæ ad Eadmer.*, p. 168.

² Si vero aliquis per superbiam elatus . . . excommunicetur, et ad hoc vindicandum fortitudo et justitia Regis aut vicecomitis adhibeantur. *Ibid.*

³ See Book II. p. 74.

⁴ Hæbbe mon thriwa on gear burhgemote and twa scyregemote, and thær scyregemote se biscop and se ealderman, and thær ægther tæconge godes rihte, ge woruldes rihte. *Leges Edgari Regis*, cap. 5. *Notæ ad Eadmer.*, p. 166.

⁵ Judicium vero in nullo loco paretur nisi in episcopali sede. *Charta Wi. Conquæst. apud Selden.*

by the priests, and of suspending its own sentence when the priests refused to pronounce one. William imposed these shackles on his successors and his freemen, knowingly and willingly, from political motives—not through devotion, nor through fear of the bishops, whom he had raised from nothing, and who consisted for the most part of his flatterers and parasites.¹

Nor had fear of Pope Gregory VII., who had been bought by William of old, and was then his pensioner, any more influence in determining the Norman king to this measure in favour of the priests. The Norman could harshly repulse the requests of the Italian pontiff, when they did not meet his approval: and the tone of one of his letters to Gregory, proves how small an impression the papal pretensions made upon his mind. The Pope had to complain of a delay in sending the tax called *Peter's-pence*, the re-establishment of which had been stipulated for in the treaty concluded in 1066 between the conqueror and the Roman Church. He wrote to William, to remind him of his engagements with the Church; and William, faithful to his word, vigorously pressed in England the recovery of the apostle's pence. But the pontiff requiring more, demanded that, as the price of the apostolical banner displayed in the war of the invasion, the Norman should make an acknowledgment of vassalage to the Holy See, and take the oath of homage and fealty on the hands of the pontifical legates. William replied in these terms: "Thy legate has notified to me from thee, that I have to send money to the Roman Church, and that I must promise fidelity to thee and thy successors. The first of these demands I admit: as for the second, I neither do nor will admit it; I will not swear fidelity to thee, for I never promised it, nor did any of my predecessors ever swear fidelity to thine."²

In terminating the recital of the events which have just been laid before the reader, the chroniclers of English birth affectingly give way to their deep sorrow for the miseries of their nation. "It cannot be doubted," exclaim some of them, "that it is God's will that we no longer be a people—that we no longer keep honour with life."³ Others com-

¹ Curialis nimis et aulicus . . . pro famulatu suo stipendiarii. *Vita Abbatis. Sti. Albani*, p. 47. *Ord. Vital.*

² Unum admisi, alterum non admisi; fidelitatem nolui facere nec volo, quia nec ego promisi. . . . *Notæ ad Eadmer.*, p. 104.

³ Salutem et honorem genti Anglorum abstulerit, et populum non esse jusserit. *Chron. Jo. Brompton*, p. 984. *Math. Westmonast.*, p. 229.

plain, that the name of Englishman has become a reproach.¹ Nor was it from the pens of cotemporaries alone that such complainings escaped. The remembrance of a great national misfortune—of a great national shame—is constantly re-appearing, though more faintly as we advance in time, in the writings of the sons of the Saxons. Long did they fix their eyes on their invaded inheritances; long did they recognise them in the hands of the foreigner, and groan (says an ancient poet)² to behold them there. “They have taken our country for their inheritance,” exclaims another poet, of the end of the twelfth century; “they have put the English into slavery; the English are slaves—they who were once so free.”

Two hundred years later, the violences of the conquest were still associated in idea with the distinction—called *social*—of ranks and conditions; and a convent historian, little to be suspected of revolutionary theories, has these remarkable words—“If there is among us so great a difference of conditions, it is not to be wondered at; for there is a diversity of races: if there is among us so little mutual confidence and affection, it is because we are not of one blood.”³ And a writer of the sixteenth century declares, that he considers the poor artisans and labourers of England as a class of disinherited men.⁴ This is the last sorrowful glance cast back through the mist of ages on the time when the country of the English had chiefs of English birth. Since then, other revolutions, a patriotic struggle engaged in under forms so widely different, have left fresher impressions in place of those ancient recollections. Yet is it not impossible that, reawakened at the present day in the breasts of those who, having neither arms, nor titles, nor Norman nobility, are the living representatives of the old English and of old England, they may serve in some degree to strengthen the patriotism of those men, whom passed ages called *villains*, and to whom the present age vouchsafes the epithet of *the*

¹ Et opprobrium erat Anglicus appellari. *Ibid.* Ita ut Anglicus vocari foret opprobrio. *Math. Paris.*, tom. i. p. 8.

² Amplas Anglorum terras et prædia multa. . . . Distribuens, quas adhuc præsens, videt et delet ætas. *Guil. Nubrigens. ed. Hearne*, p. 722.

³ Non miretur quis si varietas nationum tribuat varietatem conditionum, et inde crescat nimia diffidentia naturalis amoris, et dispersio sanguinis tribuat dispersam credulitatem mutuae confidentiæ et dilectionis. *Chron. Henr. Knyghton*, p. 2343.

⁴ *Verstegan's English Antiquities*, p. 178.

middling and lower classes. It will not, perhaps, be wholly unavailing to these popular classes, to take an exact survey of the origin of the oppressive or insulting privileges which they do not possess—and to have it in their power (should the question of antiquity of lineage—a question so dear to the privileged—come to be debated) proudly to maintain that the priority of abode on the English soil belongs to the plebeians, and that the nobles are the new men—as their very names and the dates of their titles testify.

If, collecting in his own mind, all the facts detailed in the foregoing narration, the reader would form a just idea of England conquered by William of Normandy, he must figure to himself—not a mere change of political rule—not the triumph of one candidate over another candidate—of the man of one party over the man of another party, but the intrusion of one people into the bosom of another people—the violent placing of one society over another society, which it came to destroy, and the scattered fragments of which it retained only as personal property, or (to use the words of an old act) as “the clothing of the soil.”¹ He must not picture to himself—on the one hand, William, a king and a despot—on the other, subjects of William’s, high and low, rich and poor, all inhabiting England, and consequently all English: he must imagine two nations, of one of which William is a member and the chief—two nations which (if the term must be used) were both *subject* to William; but as applied to which the word has quite different senses, meaning in the one case—*subordinate*, in the other—*subjugated*. He must consider that there are two countries—two soils—included in the same geographical circumference; that of the Normans rich and free,—that of the Saxons poor and serving, vexed by *rent* and *taillage*;—the former full of spacious mansions, and walled and moated castles,—the latter scattered over with huts of straw and ruined hovels:—that peopled with the happy and the idle—with men of the army and of the court—with knights and nobles,—this, with men of pain and labour—with farmers and artisans;—on the one, luxury and insolence,—on the other, misery and envy—not the envy of the poor at the sight of opulence they cannot reach, but the envy of the despoiled when in presence of the despoiler.

And lastly—to complete the picture—these two lands are

¹ Terræ vestitus, terra vestita—*i.e.* agri cum domibus, hominibus, et pecoribus. Vide Glossar. Cangii et Spelmanii.

in some sort interwoven with each other;—they meet at every point;—and yet, they are more distinct, more completely separated, than if the ocean rolled between them. Each speaks a language foreign to the other,—the land of the rich using the Roman tongue of the Gaulish provinces beyond the Loire, while the old language of the country is heard at the fire-sides of the poor and enslaved. For a long time, these two idioms were propagated side by side,—the one being the mark of noble, the other of ignoble birth,—as is expressed in the following words of a chronicle in verse written almost three centuries after the conquest.—“Alas! the land of the English fell into the hands of the Normans: ¹ and these Normans spoke no tongue but the French; they spoke it in this country as they had done in their own, and taught it to their children. So that those of rank in England, who are sprung from the Normans, adhere to the language they have received from them; and if a man can only speak French he is much thought of. But those of the lower order likewise adhere faithfully to English—to their original tongue.”

¹ Thus come lo! Engeland unto Normannes honde,
 And the Normannes ne couthe speke tho bote her ow speche,
 Spoke French as dude at ome, her children dude so teche,
 So that heyemen of this lond that of her blode come
 Holdeth ælle sulke speche that his of them nome:
 For bote a man couthe French, me tellth of him well lute,
 Ac low mon holdeth to Englyss and to her kunde speche gut.

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, ed. Hearne, p. 364.

BOOK VII

FROM THE DEATH OF WILLIAM TO THE GREAT CONSPIRACY OF THE SAXONS AGAINST THE NORMANS IN THE YEAR 1137

IN the month of July, 1087, William, Duke of Normandy and King of England, appeared with a thousand men before the town of Mantes, on the Seine. He had claimed from Philip, King of France, this town, with the territory between the Epte and the Oise, then called the Vexin county: but Philip had in no way admitted the claims of the Norman;¹ he answered them (say the historians of the Norman party) only by seditious sophisms.² While this affair was debating, William was ill in bed at Rouen; and, as he had naturally a very large belly, Philip one day said in jest, that the King of England had lain in a long while, and there would no doubt be a fine churching. William was so sorely stung by this jest, that he swore by his greatest oaths—the splendour and the nativity of God—to go and hold his churching at Nôtre Dame in Paris, with ten thousand lances for tapers.³ He waited (the historian tells us) for the season of harvest and vintage, and began the fulfilment of his vow upon the unfortunate town of Mantes.⁴ His captain, Ascelin Goël marched the cavalry over the corn fields, had the vines torn up, and the trees cut down.⁵ The king set fire to the town, and stayed in the midst of the conflagration, urging on his soldiers to the work of utter destruction.

As he was galloping over the ruins, his horse trod upon some burning wood, fell, and wounded him in the belly. The exertion of riding and shouting,⁶ together with the heat of the fire and of the season, made his wound dangerous; he was carried ill to Rouen, and from thence to a monastery without the walls of the town, the noise of which he could not

¹ Calumniam de Vulcassino comitatu. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 655.

² Seditiosorum frivolis sophismatibus usus est. *Ibid.*

³ *Chronique de Normandie.* Ut quando a puerperio suo levaret, mille candelas in regno Franciæ illuminaret. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 979.

⁴ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 655.

⁵ Conculcationem segetum et extirpationem vinearum. *Ibid.*

⁶ Pondere armorum et labore clamoris. *Anglia Sacra*, p. 271.

bear.¹ He languished for six weeks, surrounded by physicians and priests; and finding that his malady increased, he sent money to Mantes to rebuild the churches he had burned. He also sent some to the convents and the poor of England, to purchase remission (says an old English poet) for all the robberies he had committed.² He moreover ordered the Normans and Saxons confined in his prisons to be set at liberty. Among the latter were Morkar, Siward Beorn, and King Harold's brother Ulfnoth, one of the two hostages for whose liberation Harold had made his fatal journey.³ Among the Normans were, Roger the former Count of Hereford, and Eudes Bishop of Bayeux, William's half-brother.

The king's two youngest sons—William, surnamed Rufus, and Henry—were constantly at his bed-side, impatiently awaiting the announcement of his last will. Robert, the eldest of the three, had been absent ever since his last quarrel with his father. To him it was that William, with the consent of the Norman chiefs, had formerly bequeathed his title of Duke of Normandy; and, notwithstanding the curse which he had afterwards pronounced against Robert, he did not seek to disinherit him of this title, to which it was the country's wish that he should succeed.⁴ "As for the kingdom of England," said he, "I bequeath it to no one: for it was not bequeathed to me; I acquired it by force, and at the cost of blood:⁵ I leave it in the hands of God—only wishing that my son William, who has been submissive to me in all things, may obtain it, if he please God and prosper."⁶ "And what do you give *me*, father?" eagerly asked his youngest son Henry.⁷ "I give thee," answered the king, "five thousand pounds of silver from my treasury." "But what shall I do with the silver?—if I have neither land nor habitation."⁸ "Be quiet, my son, and trust in God: let thy elder brothers go before thee; thy turn will come after theirs."⁹ Henry immediately withdrew, to receive his five thousand pounds; he had them carefully weighed, and pro-

¹ Quia strepitus Rhotoniagi intolerabilis erat ægrotanti. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 656.

² To bete sulke robberye that he thoghte he hadde ydo. *Robert of Glocest. Chron.*, p. 369.

³ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 192.

⁴ See Book VI. p. 278.

⁵ Diro conflictu et multa effusione cruoris humani.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Et mihi, pater, quid tribuis? *Ord. Vital.*, p. 659.

⁸ Si locum habitationis non habuero. *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

vided himself with a chest well locked and ironed.¹ At the same time, William Rufus departed for England, to endeavour to get himself named king.

On the tenth of September, at sunrise, King William was awakened by the sound of bells, and asked what it meant. He was told that they were ringing for the morning service at the church of St. Mary. He lifted up his hands, saying, "I commend myself to my lady, Mary the holy mother of God," and almost instantly expired.² His medical and other attendants, who had passed the night with him, seeing that he was dead, hastily mounted their horses, and rode off to take care of their property.³ The serving-men and vassals of inferior rank, when their superiors had fled, carried off the arms, vessels, clothes, linen, and other movables, and fled likewise, leaving the corpse naked on the floor.⁴ The king's body was left in this situation for several hours;⁵ for, throughout Rouen, every man was seized with a sort of stupor, proceeding not from grief, but from fear of the future: they were (says an old historian) as much troubled as if they had seen an army at the gates of their city.⁶ Each one went about as chance directed, asking advice of his wife, his friend, or whomsoever he first met; and had his goods concealed or conveyed away, or strove to sell them at a loss.⁷

At length some of the clergy, clerks and monks, having recovered the use of their faculties, and collected their strength, arrayed a procession.⁸ Clad in the habits of their order, with crosses, tapers, and censers, they approached the corpse, and prayed for the soul of the deceased.⁹ The Archbishop of Rouen, named Guillaume, ordered the king's body to be conveyed to Caen, and buried in the basilick of St. Stephen the first martyr, which he had built in his lifetime. But his sons, his brothers—all his relatives—were afar off: not one of his officers was present—not one offered to take

¹ Diligenter ne quid deesset ponderare, munitumque gazophylactium sibi procurare. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 659.

² Dominae meae sanctae Dei genitrici Mariae me commendo. *Ibid.* p. 661.

³ Illico ascensis equis ad sua tutenda properaverunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Et relicto regis cadavere poene nudo in area domus, aufugerunt. *Ibid.*

⁵ A prima usque ad tertiam. *Ibid.*

⁶ Poene omnes velut ebrii desipuerunt, ac si multitudinem hostium imminere urbi vidissent. *Ibid.*

⁷ Quid ageret a conjuge, vel obvio sodali, vel amico consilium quaesivit. *Ibid.*

⁸ Collectis viribus et intimis sensibus. *Ibid.*

⁹ Honestè induti, cum crucibus et thuribulis. *Ibid.*

charge of his obsequies ;¹ and an obscure countryman named Herluin, through pure good nature, and for the love of God (say the historians), took upon himself the trouble and expense.² He hired a cart and attendants, had the body conveyed to the port on the Seine, from thence on a barge down the river, and by sea to Caen.³ Gilbert, Abbot of St. Stephen's, with all his monks, came to meet the coffin ; and was joined by many clerks and laymen ; but a fire suddenly appearing, broke up the procession, and called away both clergy and laity.⁴ The monks of St. Stephen's were left alone, to conduct the king's body to the church of their convent.

The inhumation of *the great chief—the famous baron*—as the historians of the time call him⁵—was interrupted by fresh occurrences. On that day were assembled all the bishops and abbots of Normandy. They had had the grave dug in the church, between the altar and the choir ; the mass was finished, and the body was about to be lowered, when a man rose up amid the crowd, and said, with a loud voice—"Clerks, and bishops, this ground is mine—upon it stood the house of my father. The man for whom you pray wrested it from me to build on it his church.⁶ I have neither sold my land, nor pledged it, nor forfeited it, nor given it. It is my right. I claim it.⁷ In the name of God, I forbid you to put the body of the spoiler there, or to cover it with my earth."⁸ He who thus lifted up his voice was Asselin son of Arthur ; and all present confirmed the truth of his words. The bishops told him to approach ; and, making a bargain with him, delivered to him sixty sols as the price of the place of sepulture only, and engaged to indemnify him equitably for the rest of the ground.⁹ On this condition it was that the corpse of the vanquisher of the English was received into the grave dug for its reception. At the moment of letting it down, it was discovered that the stone coffin was too narrow ; the assistants

¹ Verum fratres ejus et cognati jam ab eo recesserunt, et omnes ministri ejus, nec unus inventus est. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 661.

² Herluinus pagensis eques, naturali bonitate compunctus pro amore Dei. *Ibid.*

³ Pollinctores ac vehiculum, mercede de propriis sumptibus. *Ibid.*

⁴ Omnes ad ignem comprimendum clerici cum laicis concurrerunt. *Ibid.*

⁵ Famosi baronis. *Ibid.*

⁶ Hæc terra ubi constitis area patris mei fuit. *Ibid.* p. 662.

⁷ *Wace, Roman de Rou. Chron. de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de la France*, p. 242.

⁸ Ex parte Dei prohibeo, ne corpus raptoris operiatur cespite meo. *Ord. Vit.*, p. 662.

⁹ Pro reliqua vero tellure æquipollens mutuum. *Ibid.*

attempted to force the body, and it burst.¹ Incense and perfumes were burned in abundance, but without avail: the people dispersed in disgust; and the priests themselves, hurrying through the ceremony, soon deserted the church.²

William, surnamed Rufus, on his way to England, had been apprised of his father's death, at the port of Wissant, near Calais. He hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure was deposited, and gaining over by promises Guillaume de Pont de l'Arche, the keeper of it, he obtained possession of the keys.³ He had it carefully weighed, and an inventory taken; and found sixty thousand pounds of silver, with a large quantity of gold and jewels.⁴ He then had all the Norman chiefs at that time in England assembled together, announced to them the death of the conqueror, was chosen king by them, and anointed by Archbishop Lanfranc in Winchester cathedral, while the chiefs remaining in Normandy were holding a council on the succession.⁵ His first act of regal authority was, to imprison afresh the Saxons, Ulfnoth, Morkar, and Siward Beorn, whom his father had restored to liberty.⁶ He then took from the royal treasure a considerable quantity of gold and silver, which he put into the hands of Othon the goldsmith, with orders to make it into ornaments for the tomb of him whom he had forsaken on his death-bed.⁷ The name of the goldsmith Othon merits a place in this history; for the judgment-book of the conquest mentions him as one of the great proprietors whom the conquest created.⁸ Perhaps he had been the banker of the invasion, and advanced part of the expenses on mortgage of English lands: this is not unlikely; for in the middle ages, goldsmiths were also bankers. Or, perhaps he had merely entered into commercial speculations on the domains acquired by the lance and the sword, and given to warriors-errant—a set of men common at that day—gold in exchange for their lands.

A sort of literary competition then arose among the Latin

¹ Pinguissimus venter crepuit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 662.

² Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias perficere. *Ibid.*

³ *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 890. Claves thesauri nactus est. *Ibid.* p. 120.

⁴ Statim ponderans thesaurum patris sui, reperiit. . . . *Ingulf. Croyl. apud Script. Oxon.*, p. 106.

⁵ Regem obiisse propagat . . . dum cæteri proceres de regni successione tractant in Normannia. *Monast. Angl.*, tom. ii. p. 890.

⁶ *Aluredus Beverlacensis*, p. 136. *Florent. Wigorn.*

⁷ Auri et argenti gemmarumque copiam Othoni aurifabri erogavit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 663.

⁸ *Domesday-book*, passim.

versifiers of England and Normandy, for composing the epitaph to be engraven on the gold carved by Othon: Thomas Archbishop of York bore away the prize.¹ Several pieces of verse and prose, in praise of the conqueror, have been handed down to us; and among the eulogies bestowed on him by the clerks and literary men of that day, there are some very curious. "Nation of the English," exclaims one, "why didst thou trouble the repose of this prince, the friend of virtue?"² "Oh, England!" says another, "thou wouldst have cherished him, thou wouldst have gladly fallen at his feet, but for thy folly and malice."³ "His reign was peaceful," says a third, "and his soul was beneficent."⁴ Nothing is left us of the epitaphs and panegyrics bestowed upon him *vivâ voce* by the conquered people, unless we may regard as a relic of the popular exclamations caused by the death of the foreign tyrant, these lines of an English poet of the thirteenth century: "The days of King William were days of sorrow, and many thought his life too long."⁵

Meanwhile, the Norman chiefs who had not concurred in the election of William Rufus, repassed the sea, enraged against him for having become king without their consent. They resolved to depose him, and put in his place his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy.⁶ At the head of this party appeared the conqueror's brother, Eudes Bishop of Bayeux, with many rich Normans or Frenchmen of England (as the Saxon chronicle expresses it).⁷ *The red king* (for so he is called by the histories⁸ of the time) seeing that his fellow-countrymen were conspiring for his ruin, resolved to call to his aid the conquered people of England, and engage them to support him by the hope of a little alleviation.⁹ He called around him several of those whom the memory of their

¹ Solius Thomæ versus auro inserti sunt. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 663.

² Gens Anglorum turbastis principem. . . . *Script. Rer. Normannic.*, p. 318.

³ Diligeres eum Anglica terra, si absit impudentia atque iniquitas tua. *Guil. Pictav.*, p. 207.

⁴ Cujus regnum pacificum

Fuit atque fructiferum. *Chron. Raynaldi Andegavensis, apud Script. Rer. Fran.*, p. 479.

⁵ There was in Kyng William's days warre and sorrwe ynou,
So that muchdel of Engelond thoghte his lyf too long.

Rob. of Glocest. Chron., p. 376.

⁶ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 193.

⁷ Tha riceste Francisce-men—ealle Francisce-men. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Chron. de Normandie.* The red kyng. *Rob. of Glocest.*

⁹ Tunc accersivit Anglis. *Chron. Saxon.*, p. 193.

departed power still caused to be regarded by the Anglo-Saxon nation as its natural chiefs—its legitimate governors. He promised them the best laws they could choose—the best that had ever been in force in the country;¹ he restored to them the right of bearing arms and killing the wild animals; he stopped the levying of the *taille*, and every other odious tribute: but (say the cotemporary chronicles) this was not of long duration.²

In consideration of these concessions, which lasted for a few days, as, perhaps, also from a secret passion for coming to a conflict with any of the Normans,³ the English chiefs embraced the king's cause, and published in their name and in his the old proclamation of war—that which, in former times, had rallied round the national standard every Saxon capable of bearing arms.—“Let every man that is not worthless, whether in a town or out of a town, leave his house and come.”⁴ Thirty thousand Englishmen spontaneously repaired to the place assigned, received arms, and enlisted under the banner of the Norman king.⁵ They were nearly all on foot; and William led them, together with his cavalry, composed of Normans, against the maritime town of Rochester, where Bishop Eudes, and the chiefs of the opposite party had fortified themselves, awaiting the arrival of their candidate Duke Robert, to march on Canterbury and London.⁶

The Saxons of the royal army appear to have shown great ardour at the siege of Rochester, showering upon the besieged Normans both distant reproaches and close blows, which they would willingly have bestowed upon the whole race of their conquerors.⁷ The besieged, being hard pressed, soon desired to capitulate, on condition of their acknowledging William as king, and retaining under him all their lands and honours.⁸ William at first refused: but the Norman part of his camp, not being so zealous as the Saxons in the war, which to them was a civil war, nor so desirous of reducing to the last extremity their fellow-citizens, their friends, and relatives,

¹ *Meliorē legem quam vellent eligere, meliorē quam unquam in hac terra fuit. Annales Waverleiensēs, p. 136.*

² *Sed hoc parum duravit. Ibid.*

³ *Animos eorum contra Normannos mulcebat. Jo. Brompton, p. 984.*

⁴ See Book II. p. 70. *Ut quicumque esset unnithing, sive in burgo sive extra burgum. . . . Annal. Waverl., p. 136.*

⁵ *Ord. Vital., p. 667.*

⁶ *Florent. Wigorn., p. 643.*

⁷ *Detestabilis gens. Ord. Vital., p. 667.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

thought the king too violent against the defenders of Rochester.¹ They strove to calm and soften him: "We," said they, "who have assisted thee in thy perils, beg of thee to spare our fellow-countrymen—our kinsmen, who are also thine—them who aided thy father in subduing England."² The king at length yielded, and granted the besieged free egress from the town, with their arms and horses. Eudes strove to obtain as a further condition, that during the evacuation of the garrison the king's martial music should not play in token of triumph.³ But William angrily refused, and said aloud that he would not make this concession for a thousand marks of gold.⁴ The Normans of Robert's party quitted the town which they were unable to defend, on horse-back, with colours lowered, to the sound of the king's trumpets. At that moment, a great clamour arose among the English of the royal army.⁵ "Ropes! bring ropes," cried they; "let us hang this traitor of a bishop and his accomplices."⁶ O king, why dost thou let him go in safety? He is not worthy to live—the rogue! the assassin! the murderer of a thousand men!"

To the sound of these imprecations, rising unchecked from the national hatred of the conquered, departed from England, never more to return, the priest who had blessed the Norman army at the battle of Hastings.⁷ The quarrel between the Normans lasted for some time longer: but this family war gradually subsided, and ended in a treaty between the two parties and the two brothers. The domains which Robert's friends had lost in England for embracing his cause, were restored to them; and Robert himself abandoned his pretensions to the royalty for territorial possessions.⁸ The men of the two factions agreed that if the king survived the duke, he should have the duchy of Normandy; and if the duke survived the king, he should have the kingdom of England;—twelve men on the king's part, and twelve on the duke's,

¹ Videntes autem ii qui obsidebant ad necem parentum et amicorum qui obsessi erant regis animum furere. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 667.

² Nos qui tecum maximis in periculis assistimus, te pro compatriotis nostris obnixe supplicamus. *Ibid.* p. 668.

³ Nec tubicines in eorum egressu tubis canerent. *Ibid.*

⁴ Etiam propter mille auri marcas. *Ibid.*

⁵ Multitudo Anglorum quæ regi adhærebat vociferabatur. *Ibid.*

⁶ Torques, torques afferte, et traditorem episcopum. . . . Cur sospitem pateris abire? Non debet vivere perjurus homicida. . . . *Ibid.*

⁷ See Book III. p. 164.

⁸ *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 664.

confirming this treaty by oath.¹ Thus was peace re-established among the conquerors of the English;—and thus the truce was broken between the English and the foreign king. The concessions he had made were all revoked, all his promises were belied, and the Saxons were reduced to their former state of subjection and oppression.²

Near the city of Canterbury was an ancient monastery, founded in honour of Augustine, the first converter of the Saxons and Angles. Here were preserved, in a higher degree than in the other convents of England, the national spirit and the memory of ancient independence. The Normans perceived this, and lost no time in striving to break that spirit by repeated humiliations. The primate Lanfranc began with abolishing the ancient privilege of the monks of the convent of Augustine, which consisted in their being amenable to none but their own abbot for breaches of ecclesiastical discipline.³ Although their abbot at that time was a Norman, and as such but little to be suspected of indulgence towards the men of the other race, Lanfranc took from him the right of watching over his own monks, and arrogated it to himself.⁴ He, moreover, forbade the bells of the monastery to be rung before the episcopal ones had rung for service, regardless (says the historian) of that maxim of the Holy Scriptures—"Where the spirit of God is, there is freedom."⁵ The Saxon monks murmured at being subject to this humiliating restriction; and, in order to show their discontent, performed the service late and with negligence, committing wilful irregularities—such as overturning the crosses, and walking in the procession bare-foot and against the course of the sun.⁶ "Violence," they would say, "is done to us, against the canons of the Church. Well!—then we will violate the canons in the service of the Church."⁷ They prayed their Norman abbot that he would transmit a protest from them to the pope: but the abbot answered them only by punishing them as rebellious, and shutting up the cloisters so that none of them could go out.⁸

¹ *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 664.

² *Nihil postmodum tenuit quod promisit. Jo. Brompton*, p. 984.

³ *Chron. Willelmi Thorn.*, p. 1791.

⁴ *Monachos ad suum capitulum venire compulit. Ibid.*

⁵ *Ne signa sua pulsarent, nisi prius. Ibid.* p. 1794.

⁶ *Inde ergo rixæ, murmurationes, servitum Dei factum tarde et indecenter. Ibid.*

⁷ *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 298.

⁸ *Quos ille despiciens, monachos distringere ut de claustro nullo exirent. . . . Chron. Will. Thorn.*, p. 1794.

This man, who, through hatred for the Saxons, so complacently sacrificed his individual independence, died in 1088: and Archbishop Lanfranc then repaired to the monastery, taking with him a monk of Normandy, named Guy, much in favour with the king.¹ He summoned the monks of St. Augustine, in the name of the royal authority, immediately to receive and instal this new abbot: but they answered, with one voice, that they would not.² Lanfranc, irritated by this resistance, ordered that such as refused to obey should immediately quit the convent. Nearly all of them left it; and the Norman was installed, in their absence, with the usual ceremonies.³ After this, the prior of the monastery, named Elfwin, and several other monks—all of Saxon birth, were seized and imprisoned.⁴ They who had gone out of the convent at the archbishop's command, were seated on the ground, in groups, under the walls of the citadel of Canterbury. They received a message, informing them that a few hours were granted for them to return to the convent, but that after the expiration of that term they would be looked upon and treated as vagabonds.⁵ They remained for some time undecided. But the hour of rest arrived; and they were suffering from hunger. Several of them then repented, and sent to Lanfranc a promise of obedience. They were made to swear on the relics of Augustine faithfully to keep this promise; and they who refused to swear were imprisoned until weariness of captivity should render them more docile.⁶ One of them, named Alfred, who succeeded in escaping, was taken wandering on the roads, and put in irons in the episcopal house.⁷ The spirit of resistance was for a few months repressed, but it afterwards arose with renewed violence. A plot was laid against the new abbot of the foreign race.⁸ One of the conspirators, named Columban, was taken, carried before the archbishop, and interrogated concerning his design of killing the Norman. "Such was my design," answered the monk boldly, "and I would have put

¹ Willelmo regi amantissimum. *Chron. Will. Thorn.*, p. 1794.

² Qui unanimiter animati responderunt. . . . *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 179.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Elfwinum et alios quos voluit cæpit. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 180.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Aluredum unum vagantem fugiendo cæpit, et Cantuariæ ferro compeditum multis diebus clausit. *Ibid.*

⁸ Perniciem abbatis clam machinati sunt. *Ibid.*

it in execution.”¹ Lanfranc ordered him to be bound naked before the gate of the monastery, and publicly flogged.²

In the year 1089, Lanfranc died; and immediately the Saxon monks, freed from the terror with which he had inspired them, engaged in a third revolt—one of a more serious character than the two former. They called to their aid the Saxon inhabitants of Canterbury, who, embracing this cause as a national one, went in arms and attacked the house of the Norman abbot of St. Augustine’s.³ The abbot’s people resisted, and many were killed or wounded on both sides. Guy, with great difficulty, escaped from his assailants, and went with all speed to shut himself up in the metropolitan church.⁴ On hearing of this affair, the Normans Gauceline Bishop of Winchester and Gondolfe Bishop of Rochester, came in great haste to Canterbury, whither numerous detachments of troops were sent by the king’s order.⁵ The convent of St. Augustine was occupied by the military; the monks were tried, and were condemned, in a body, to the disciplinary lash, which was inflicted, at the discretion of the bishops,⁶ by two foreign monks, named Guy and Le Normand. They were then distributed in various parts of England; and in their place twenty-four monks, with a prior named Antoine, were called over from Normandy. All such of the inhabitants of Canterbury as the Norman police had seized, were condemned to lose their eyes.⁷

Similar struggles, resulting from the hatred and despair of the conquered people, simultaneously occurred in several English churches, and, in general, in every place where Saxons, united in a body, and not reduced to the last degree of slavery, were placed under Norman chiefs or governors. These chiefs, whether clergy or laity, differed in their habiliments alone. Whether under the coat of mail or the clerical cape, there was ever the same foreign conqueror, insolent, harsh, avaricious, believing that the natives of England had no more rights than so many beasts of burden. Jean de la Ville, Bishop of Wells, formerly a physician at Tours, pulled down the houses of the canons of his church, to

¹ Si potuissem, pro certo eum interfecissem. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cives Cantuariæ contra eum concitarunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Evasit et quærendo auxilium fugit. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Ad episcoporum imperium. *Ibid.*

⁷ Cives vero capti oculos amiserunt. *Ibid.*

build himself a palace of the materials.¹ Renouf Flambard, Bishop of Lincoln, once a footman in the service of the dukes of Normandy, plundered his diocese in such a manner, that (says an old historian) the inhabitants wished to die rather than live under his authority.² The Norman bishops marched to the altar like the Norman counts to their military reviews, fenced round with lances; and passed day after day in dice, hunting and drinking.³ One of them, in a fit of gaiety, had a repast served up to Saxon monks, in the great hall of their convent, in which he compelled them to eat of dishes forbidden by their order, and to be attended by women half naked with hair dishevelled.⁴ Such of the English as, at this sight, chose to retire, or merely to look aside, were ill-treated and called hypocrites by the Norman prelate and his friends.⁵

Against such adversaries, the remains of the Saxon clergy could not sustain a long struggle. Age or persecution was every day carrying off some one of the old priests. They who survived were enfeebled by old age; and the Normans, young and active, were multiplying around them. So that the resistance, at first energetic, gradually became extinct.⁶ Besides, every convent in England had a title to the hatred and persecution of the great, in being still, for the most part, peopled with men of the English race. The monastery of Crowland, in particular, so ill-treated in the reign of the conqueror, experienced this under the rule of his son. After a fire which consumed a part of the building, the Norman count of the province in which it was situated, presuming that the writings of the abbey had perished in the flames, summoned the monks to appear at his justice-court at Spalding, there to exhibit their titles.⁷ On the day appointed, they sent one of their number, named Trig, who carried with him ancient writings in the Saxon language, confirmed by the conqueror, whose seal was suspended from them. The monk displayed these parchments

¹ Johannes de Villula Turonensis arte medicus, qui, destructis claustris, alisque ædificiis canonicorum. . . . *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 560.

² Ut mallent mori. *Ibid.* p. 295.

³ Stipatus militibus incederet ad missam. . . . Venari, aucupari, tesseras quater, potibus indulgere, consueverunt. *Henrici Knyghton*, pp. 2362-7.

⁴ Monachis etiam invitis, cibos vetitos publice apposuit, mulieres veste et vultu procaces, sparsis post tergum crinibus, ministrare constituit. *Ibid.* p. 2372.

⁵ Si oculos averteret, hypocrita diceretur. *Ibid.*

⁶ Normanni multiplicati invaluerent, Angli jam senescentes et diminuti. *Math. Paris. Vitæ Abbat.*, p. 34.

⁷ Æstimans chartas nostras, ut fama fuit, omnes incendio periisse. *Ingulf. Croyl. apud Script. Oxon.*, p. 107.

before the count and his officers, who began to laugh at and abuse him, saying that such barbarous writings, incomprehensible to any but a savage, were of no validity.¹ The sight of the royal seal, however, had some effect; the Norman, not daring to break it, nor to make a public seizure of deeds to which it was appended, suffered the monk to depart. He sent after him some of his men, to surprise him on the way, and take from him the titles: but Trig eluded his pursuers by taking a by-road.²

The peace that existed among the conquerors of England was, in 1094, once more disturbed by the revolt of some chiefs against the king. "These chiefs," says an old historian, "being enriched beyond all measure with the wealth amassed by the labour of others, liked not King William, because he governed harshly, choosing that every one should obey him."³ It seems that one cause of this dissension was, the exclusive right to the forests of England, established by the bastard, and rigorously maintained by his son.⁴ At the head of the malcontents was Robert son of Roger de Molbray, Count of Northumbria, who possessed in England two hundred and eighty manors.⁵ Robert was missing at the court or palace of the Red King, on one of the days fixed for the political conferences of the high personages among the Normans. His absence gave rise to suspicion; and the king had it published, that every great landowner who did not repair to his court at the approaching feast of Pentecost, should be placed out of the public peace.⁶ Robert de Molbray did not appear—lest he should be taken by surprise and imprisoned; and William then marched the royal army towards the province of Northumbria. He besieged and took several castles: he blockaded that of Bamborough, to which Count Robert had retired, but could not get possession of it. After fruitless efforts, he had a wooden fort constructed opposite to Bamborough, calling it in his Norman tongue *Mal-voisin*—bad neighbour—garrisoned it, and returned towards the south.⁷

¹ Dicens barbaram scripturam risu et derisu fore dignam, et nullius momenti et roboris esse tenendam. *Ingulf. Croyl. apud Script. Oxon.*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*

³ Plerique Normannorum qui, divitiis labore aliorum quæsitis, in Anglia ditati, nimis intumuerunt. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 703.

⁴ *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 124.

⁵ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 705.

⁶ Jussit omnes qui a rege terras tenebant modo pace dignos haberi si vellent, adesse curiæ suæ. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 203.

⁷ Illudque lingua sua *malvoisin* nominavit. *Ibid.*

The keepers of the new fortress surprised Robert in a sally, wounded him, and took him prisoner. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his accomplices were banished from England.

The property of these banished men, whether in the towns or out of the towns, remained for some time without owners and unproductive. It seems that the king's favourites pillaged and left them, rather than encumber themselves with a possession too insecure, from the nature of its origin and the uncertainty of political events. But the royal officers, in order that the *fisc* or exchequer might lose no part of its revenues, continued to exact from the hundred or the town, where the vacant property was situated, the full amount of land-tax formerly levied—which surcharge fell especially on the people of English race.¹ According to an old account, the people of Colchester made great demonstrations of gratitude to Eudes son of Hubert, viscount or governor of their town, for having taken in his own name the lands of the disinherited Normans, and agreed to satisfy the fiscal demands on these lands.² By the same account, the Norman Eudes gained the affections of the inhabitants of Colchester by his temperate and impartial administration.³ This is the only chief imposed upon the English by the foreign power, concerning whom history bears any such testimony.

This exception to the law of the conquest extended not beyond this one town: everywhere else, things took their course, and the royal officers were worse than the worst thieves—(such are the very words of the chronicles): they plundered alike, and without mercy, the farmer's granary and the tradesman's warehouse.⁴ At Oxford was Robert d'Oily, who spared neither rich nor poor. In the north, Odincan d'Umfreville seized the property of the English of his neighbourhood, to compel them to carry and hew stone for the building of his castle.⁵ Near London also, the king forcibly

¹ Terras damnatorum et pro culpis eliminatorum dum nemo coleret, exigebantur tamen pleniter fiscalia, et hac de causa populus valde gravabatur. *Monast. Anglic.*, tom. ii. p. 899.

² Has ergo terras Eudo sibi vindicavit ut pro his fisco satisfaceret, et populum ea tenus alleviaret. *Ibid.*

³ Sublevare gravatos et comprimere elatos, et in suis primordiis omnibus complacere. *Ibid.* p. 890.

⁴ Latronibus pejores, agricolarum acervos et negotiatorum congeries immisericorditer diripiebant. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 773.

⁵ Ut eos compelleret venire ad ædificationem castelli. *Lelandi Collectanea*, tom. iv. p. 116.

raised troops of men, to build a new wall round the conqueror's tower, a bridge over the Thames, and to the west of the city a palace or court of audience, wherein to hold the assembly of chiefs, or, as the Normans expressed it, *les plaids du royaume*.¹ "The provinces to whose shares these labours fell," says the cotemporary Saxon chronicle, "were grievously tormented: each passing year was heavy and sorrowful, on account of the numberless vexations and multiplied contributions."²

Historians not quite so laconic, have transmitted to us some details of these torments and vexations undergone by the subjugated nation. Wherever the Norman king was passing, in his progresses through England, the servants and soldiers in his train were accustomed to ravage the country.³ When they could not wholly consume the provisions of various kinds which they found in the houses of the English, they had them carried to the neighbouring market by the proprietor himself, and obliged him to sell them on their account. At other times they would burn them for pastime, or, if there were liquor of any kind, would use it to wash their horses' feet.⁴ "Their ill usage of masters of families, their insults to wives and daughters," says an eye-witness, "were too shameful to relate. At the first rumour of the king's approach, every one would fly from his dwelling and retreat with whatever he could save to the depths of the forests and into desert places."⁵

Fifty Saxons who, by good fortune, or perhaps through some little political cringing, had succeeded in retaining some remnant of their ancient patrimony,⁶ were accused, whether falsely or with reason, of having hunted in the royal forests, and taken, killed, and eaten deer—(such were the express terms of the criminal accusation instituted against them).⁷ They denied the charge. They were brought to trial; and the foreign judges inflicted on them the ordeal of red-hot iron—which the old English laws ordained only

¹ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 206.

² *Fuerunt vehementer afflictati. Ibid.*

³ *Ut quæque pessumdarent, diriperent, et totam terram per quam rex ibat devastarent. Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Et aut ad forum per eosdem ipsos quorum erant pro suo lucro ferre ac vendere, aut cremare, aut si potus esset lotis exinde equorum suorum pedibus. Ibid.*

⁵ *Præcognito regis adventu, sua habitacula fugiebant, in sylvis vel aliis locis, in quibus se tutari posse sperabant. Ibid.*

⁶ *Quibus ex antiqua Anglorum ingenuitate divitiarum vestigia quædam arridere vibebantur. Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷ *Quod cervos regis ceperint, mactaverint, manducaverint. Ibid.*

with the consent and at the request of the accused; but the conquerors amused themselves with applying it to the English race, as a sort of prefatory chastisement before the final infliction. "On the day appointed"—such are the words of the historian—"the whole fifty suffered their sentence in its utmost rigour: it was a painful sight to see; but God, by preserving their hands from all burning, clearly showed their innocence and the malice of their persecutors."¹ When it was related to William that, after three days, either through some fraud or by an extraordinary chance, the hands of all the accused had appeared unseared, "And what then?" returned he, "God is no judge of these matters: such affairs concern me; and it is I who must judge them."² The historian is silent concerning this new sentence, and the fate of the unfortunate Englishmen whom the son of the conqueror envied even the miserable chance of a fraud committed by some priest, more humane than himself.

The Saxons persecuted by the Red King for transgressions of the laws of the chase—even more rigorously than by his father—had no revenge but that of calling him in derision the *keeper of the woods* and *herdsman of the wild beasts*, and circulating sinister stories about these forests which no man of the English race could enter with arms but at the peril of his life. It was said that the devil, in horrible shapes, appeared to the Normans, and spoke aloud to them of the dreadful fate which he had in reserve for the king, for his counsellors, and for themselves.³ This popular superstition was strengthened by the singular chance which made hunting in the forests of England—in the *new forest*, too—fatal to the race of the conqueror. In the year 1081, Richard, eldest son of William the Bastard, had there received a mortal wound. In May, 1100, Richard, son of Duke Robert, and nephew to the Red King, was killed there by an arrow discharged inadvertently.⁴ And—singular as it appears—the king himself perished there by the same kind of death, in July of the same year.

On the morning of the day on which he died, he gave his

¹ Præfixi pænæ judicii pariter subacti sunt, remota pietate et misericordia; erat ergo miseriam videre. . . . *Chron. Sax.*, p. 48.

² Quid est hoc? Deus justus judex est? *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 48.

³ Ipse etiam in sylvis diabolus sub horribili specie Normannis se ostendere, plura eis de rege et aliis palam locutus est. *Simeo Dunelmensis*, p. 225. *Ailredus Rievallensis*.

⁴ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 780.

friends a great repast at Winchester castle,¹ after which he prepared for the projected hunt. While tying on his hose and joking with his guests, a workman presented to him six new arrows. He examined them, praised the workmanship, kept four of them for himself, and gave the other two to Walter Tirel, saying, "A good marksman should have good arrows."² Walter Tirel was a Frenchman, who had wealthy possessions in the county of Poixet, in Ponthieu: he was the king's most familiar friend and assiduous attendant.³ At the moment of departure, a monk from St. Peter's convent at Gloucester, entered and put into William's hands despatches from his abbot. This abbot, of Norman birth, named Serlon, sent in great tribulation to say, that one of his monks (probably of the English race) had had in his sleep a vision of ill omen; that he had seen Jesus Christ sitting on a throne, and a woman at his feet supplicating him in these terms: "O Saviour of mankind, look down with pity on thy people groaning under the yoke of William."⁴ On hearing this message, the king laughed aloud. "Do they take me for an Englishman," said he, "with their visions? Do they think me one of those fools who leave their business and go out of their way because an old woman dreams or sneezes? Come, Walter de Poix, to horse!"⁵

The king's brother Henry, William de Bretenil, and several other chiefs accompanied him to the forest. There the rest of the hunters dispersed; but Walter Tirel stayed near him, and their dogs hunted together.⁶ They had taken their station opposite to each other, each with his arrow on the crossbow, and his finger on the trigger, when a large deer, tracked by the hounds, advanced between the king and his friend.⁷ William drew; but his bowstring breaking, the arrow did not fly; and the animal, astonished at the sound, stood looking about him on all sides.⁸ The king made a sign

¹ Rex mane cum suis parasitis comedit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 782.

² Justum est ut illi acutissimæ dentur sagittæ qui lethiferos exinde noverit ictus infigere. *Ibid.*

³ Regis familiaris conviva. *Ibid.*

⁴ Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator generis humani, respice populum tuum. . . . *Ibid.* p. 781.

⁵ Num prosequi me ritum autumant Anglorum, quid pro sternutatione aut somnio vetularum dimitunt iter suum seu negotium? *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cum arcu et sagitta in manu expectanti. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2373.

⁸ Sed fracta corda, cervus de sonitu quasi attonitus restitit circumcirca respiciens. . . . *Ibid.*

to his companion to shoot ; but the latter kept quiet, either not seeing the game or not understanding the signal. Then William, in his impatience, called out, "Shoot, Walter, shoot—as if it were the devil:" and instantly an arrow—either Walter's or some other—entered his breast.¹ He fell without uttering a word, and expired. Walter Tirel hastened to him ; but finding him breathless, he mounted his horse, galloped to the coast, went over to Normandy, and from thence into the French territory.

On the first rumour of the king's death, all who attended the hunt hastily quitted the forest, and went to take care of their property. His brother Henry flew to Winchester, and the royal treasure;² and the corpse of William the Red was left abandoned on the ground, as the conqueror's had formerly been. Some charcoal-burners, who found it with the arrow still in the wound, placed it on their cart, wrapped in old linen, through which the blood dripped the whole of the way.³ In this condition were the remains of the second Norman king carried to the castle of Winchester, where Henry had already arrived, and was imperiously demanding the keys of the royal treasury. While the keepers of them were yet hesitating, William de Bretenil arrived out of breath from the forest, to oppose the demand.⁴ "Both you and I," said he to Henry, "should loyally bear in mind the faith we have promised to your brother Robert. He has received our homage. Present or absent, he has a right to it."⁵ A violent quarrel ensued ; Henry drew his sword, and, with the aid of the crowd assembled, soon got possession of the royal treasure and ornaments.

It was indeed true, that by the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between William and Robert, and sworn to by the Norman chiefs, the functions of King of England devolved on the duke. But he was then absent on a journey to the Holy Land ; whither he was one of the first to go in arms at the invitation of Pope Urban II., who had recently converted the ancient pilgrimages into military expeditions. Robert's par-

¹ Trahe, trahe arcum, ex parte Diaboli. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2373.

² Henricus concito cursu ad arcem Guentoniæ, ubi thesaurus regalis continebatur, festinavit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 782.

³ Super bigam cujusdam carbonatoris. *Math. Paris.*, p. 54. Cruore undatim per totam viam stillante. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 126.

⁴ Guillelmus de Britolio anhelus advenit. *Ibid.*

⁵ Legaliter, inquit, reminisci fidei debemus quam Roberti duci germano tuo promissimus. *Ibid.*

tisans, taken unprepared and without a chief, could not make head against those of Henry. The latter, being master of the treasure, came to London, where the principal Normans assembled; and, three days after his brother's death, he was chosen king and solemnly crowned.¹ The prelates favoured him, because he had a great liking for them, and for the literature of the time—whence he received in the Norman tongue, the surname of *clerc* or *beau-clerc*.² It is even said that the Saxons desired him, in preference to his competitor, because he had been born and brought up in England.³ He promised at his coronation to observe the good laws of Edward; but he declared that he would, like his father, maintain the exclusive keeping of the forests.⁴

While these things were taking place in England, Robert, on his return from Palestine, stopped in Apulia, where he stayed for some time with his countrymen—lords and kings of Naples and Sicily by the same titles as other Normans were rulers of the English. There he married the daughter of one Godefroy, Count of Brindisi, by right of the lance and the sword. On hearing of the death of one of his brothers, and the crowning of the other, he departed in great haste for Normandy; but the journey was long and King Henry had full time to take his measures. He did as his brother William had done; he laid aside for a little while his character of master and foreigner, and stretched out his hand to the wretched Saxons, so credulous in their misery, whose lot it was to be flattered in the day of peril, and crushed on the morrow. He called the principal of them together, and—probably through an interpreter—addressed them as follows:—

“My friends and faithful subjects, born in the same country with myself—you know that my brother seeks my kingdom. He is a man full of pride, and knows not how to live at peace; he calls you cowards and gluttons, and desires only to trample on you.⁵ But I, like a mild and peaceful king, purpose to maintain your ancient liberties, to govern you after your own

¹ *Optimates qui prope fuerent, ejus fratrem Henricum regem elegerunt. Chron. Saxon. Gibson, p. 208.*

² *Dictus clericus. Jo. Brompton, p. 297.*

³ *Plurimi lætati sunt quod regem natum et nutritum in Anglia habere meruissent. Guill. Neubrigensis, p. 297.*

⁴ *Jo. Brompton, p. 998.*

⁵ *Amici et fideles mei indigenæ et naturales . . . vosque scienter quasi contemptibiles, quos desides vocat et glutones, conculcare desiderat. Math. Paris., p. 42.*

wishes, reasonably and temperately.¹ I will, if you desire it, sign a writing to this effect, and confirm it by oath. Stand by me, then, faithfully: if English bravely be with me, I fear not the vain threats of the Normans."²

The writing promised to the English by the king—or (as it was called in the language of the age) his *royal charter*—was actually drawn up. As many copies were made of it as there were Norman counties in England; and, to add to its apparent solemnity, there was affixed to it a new seal made for the occasion.³ The copies were deposited in the principal churches of each province. But they did not long remain there; they were all carried off when the king retracted, and (as an ancient historian expresses it) impudently belied his word.⁴ Three copies only are left, which by some chance escaped—one at Canterbury, one at York, and one at St. Alban's—for the information of the antiquary, and the instruction of such as might in after times be disposed to believe the promises of men in power.⁵

The same policy which made Henry take this step towards the English, prompted him to another and more decisive one—that of taking a wife of the Anglo-Saxon race. There was then in England an orphan daughter of Margaret sister to King Edgar, and Malcolm king of the Scotch. She had been educated at the abbey of Rumsey, under the tutelage of another sister of Edgar's, named Christiana or Christina, who, having fled to Scotland with her brother, had taken the veil in the year 1086, when he seemed wholly to have relinquished the project of retrieving his own fortune with that of England.⁶ As the daughter of a Scottish king, several Norman chiefs had sought the hand of Edgar's niece. She had been asked of William the Red by Alain the Breton, lord of the castle of Richemont, in the province of York; but Alain died before the Norman king had made him a grant of the young woman, by virtue of his right, as conqueror, to

¹ Ego vero rex humilis et pacificus, et vestris ivalinando consiliis, consultius et mitius gubernare. *Math. Paris.*, p. 42.

² Et super hæc (si provideritis) scripta subarata roborare et juramentis confirmare. Si enim fortitudine Anglorum roborer, inanes Normannorum minas nequaquam censeo formidandas. *Ibid.*

³ Et expedienter fabricato sigillo, consignatæ sunt. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 274.

⁴ Promissa impudenter violavit. *Math. Paris.*, p. 42.

⁵ *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 274.

⁶ *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 164. *Annales Waverleiensis*, p. 133.

dispose of the women of England.¹ She was next sought by William de Garenne, Count of Surrey; but—from what impediment is unknown—the marriage did not take place.² Such was the woman whom the prudent advisers of King Henry proposed to him for a wife, as a means of gaining the support of the whole Anglo-Saxon race against Robert and his partisans.

And on the other hand, many Englishmen entertained the idle hope of seeing the old Saxon times return, when the descendant of the Saxon kings should become the wife of the Norman. They, who were connected with Edgar's family by the ties of kindred or affection, went to the young woman and importuned her not to refuse this marriage.³ She testified considerable dislike to it; but they who entreated her unremittingly persevered, and so beset her (says an old author) that she complied with their wishes from pure lassitude and in spite of herself:⁴—for they wearied her with repeating —“Oh most noble and most gracious of women, if thou wouldst, thou couldst raise up from its nothingness the ancient honour of England; thou wouldst be a sign of alliance, a pledge of reconciliation: but if thou persist in thy refusal, the enmity between the two races will be eternal; human blood will never cease to flow.”⁵

It was probably after Edgar's niece gave her consent, and pledged her word, that her name of Edith was changed into Matilda—less properly Saxon, and consequently less offensive to Norman ears.⁶ Nor was this the only necessary precaution; for there arose among the Normans a strong party against the marriage. This party was composed of men who, being disaffected towards King Henry, liked not to see him supported by the English population, or who, through mere national pride and hatred, were indignant that a Saxon woman should become queen of the Normans. Their ill-will opposed many unforeseen obstacles. They asserted that Matilda, brought up from her infancy in a monastery, among nuns, had been by her parents devoted to God: it was rumoured

¹ Alanus enim Rufus Britannorum comes eam in conjugem sibi a rege Rufo requisivit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 702.

² *Ibid.*

³ Parentum et amicorum consiliis. *Math. Paris.*, p. 40.

⁴ Ipsa vero invita nupsit ei, et tandem tædio affecta adquevit. *Ibid.*

⁵ Instanten enim importune dicebant: o mulierum generosissima et gratiosissima, quod si non feceris, causa eris perennis inimicitiae gentium et sanguinis humani effusionis irrestaurabilis. *Ibid.*

⁶ Matildem quæ prius dicta est Edith. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 702.

that she had been seen publicly to wear the veil ; which rumour suspended the celebration of the marriage — much to the satisfaction of those who were against it.¹

There was then in place of Lanfranc, in the archbishopric of Canterbury, a monk of Bec, named Anselm, concerning whom the writers of the time bear the singular testimony, that the natives of England loved him as if he had been one of themselves.² It happened that Anselm came into England, in the reign of the first William, at the time when Lanfranc, seeking to destroy the reputation of the English saints, was violently attacking the sanctity of Archbishop Elfeg, assassinated in former times by the Danes.³ Fully occupied with his project, the primate conversed with the Norman monk on the history of the Saxon Elfeg, and what he called *his pretended martyrdom*. "For my own part," replied Anselm, "I believe this man to have been a martyr, and a true martyr ; for he chose rather to die than to wrong his fellow-countrymen. He died for justice, as John did for truth ; and both alike for Christ, who is both truth and justice."⁴

Anselm, having in turn become primate, under William the Red, persisted in the spirit of equity and benevolence towards the conquered which had dictated this answer. He was one of the most zealous advocates for the marriage desired by the Saxons : but when he heard the reports that were circulated respecting Edgar's niece, he declared that nothing should induce him to ravish from God her who was His spouse, and give her to a carnal husband.⁵ Desirous, however, of ascertaining the truth, he questioned Matilda, and she denied that she had ever been devoted to God. She also denied that she had ever worn the veil of her own accord, and offered to prove it before all the prelates of England. "I must confess," said she, "that I have sometimes appeared veiled ; but the reason was this :—In my early youth, when I was under the care of my aunt Christina, she, in order (as she said) to screen me from the ungoverned licentiousness of the Normans, by which every woman's modesty was threatened, used to

¹ *Eadmeri Historia Novorum*, p. 57.

² *Per mansuetudine sua ab indigenis terræ quasi unum eorum diligebatur.*
Ibid. p. 112.

³ See Book V. p. 244.

⁴ *Martyr mihi videtur egregius qui mori maluit. . . . Sic ergo Johannes pro veritate, sic et Elphegus pro justitia. . . . Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 162.

⁵ *Eadmeri Historia Novorum*, p. 57.

put a piece of black stuff over my head ; and when I refused to cover myself with it, she spoke to me very harshly. In her presence, through fear of her, I wore this piece of stuff ; but when she was away, I used to throw it on the ground and trample upon it with childish anger.”¹

Anselm would not decide alone in a case of such difficulty ; but convoked an assembly of the bishops, abbots, monks, and lay chiefs, in the city of Rochester. Witnesses cited before the council confirmed the truth of the young woman's words. Two Norman archdeacons, William and Humbauld, were sent to the convent where Matilda had been brought up, and deposed that the public report, as well as the testimony of the sisters, accorded with her declaration.² When the assembly were about to deliberate, Archbishop Anselm retired, that he might not be suspected of exercising the least influence ; and when he returned, the individual who spoke on behalf of them all, stated the motive of their unanimous decision in these terms—“We think the young woman is free, and may dispose of her person : our authority being the judgment given in a like cause by the venerable Lanfranc, at the time when the Saxon women who had taken refuge in the monasteries through fear of the soldiers of the great William, claimed their liberty.”³

Archbishop Anselm replied, that he fully concurred in the decision ; and, a few days afterwards, he celebrated the marriage of the Norman king with the niece of the last king of English descent. But, before he pronounced the nuptial benediction—wishing to dissipate every suspicion, and disarm all malevolence—he mounted a stage before the door of the church, and explained the question and the decision of the bishops to the assembled crowd. These facts are related by an eye-witness—by Edmer, an Englishman by birth, and a monk of Canterbury.

But all these precautions did not subdue what the historian Edmer calls “the malice of heart of certain men”⁴—that is, the repugnance of many of the Normans to the bad alliance of their king. They showered the most cutting raileries on that

¹ Cum adolescentula essem et sub amitæ meæ Christianæ virga paverem, illa servandi corporis mei causa, contra furem et cujusque pudori insidiantem Normannorum libidinem, nigrum panniculum capiti meo superponere solebat. *Eadmeri Historia Novorum*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 57, et seq.

³ See Book V. pp. 264, 265.

⁴ *Eadmeri Hist. Novorum*, p. 57, et seq.

king and his wife of English blood. They called them *Godric and Godiva*, using these two Saxon names as epithets of derision.¹ "Henry knew and heard it," says one of the old chronicles, "but he affected to laugh at it, wisely concealing his chagrin, and answering the abuse of the foolish only by an artificial silence."² As soon as Duke Robert disembarked in Normandy, the irritation of the Normans against the king assumed a graver character; and many chiefs passed the strait to embrace the cause of the dispossessed brother, or sent him messages. They urged him speedily to land in England, promising to recover for him the title which belonged to him by virtue of the compact formerly concluded with William the Red.³ Robert landed; and his ranks were in reality swelled by a great number of the chiefs and rich men of England: but the bishops, the private soldiers, and the English by birth, remained on the side of the king.⁴ The latter, in particular, following their old instinct of national hatred, ardently desired that the two factions should come to a conflict. There was no fighting at the place of disembarkation; for Robert landed on the coast of Hants, while his brother Henry was waiting for him on that of Sussex. It required several days to bring the armies together; and the less fiery of the Normans of both parties profited by the interval, acted as mediators, and pacified this quarrel among kindred and fellow-countrymen.⁵ It was decided that Robert should once more relinquish his pretensions to the royalty of England, for an annual pension of two thousand pounds of silver; and that the effects of the duke's friends confiscated by the king, and those of the king's confiscated by the duke, should be gratuitously restored.⁶

This treaty deprived the English of an opportunity of safely gratifying their aversion for the race of their conquerors, and killing Normans with permission under the shelter of a Norman banner. But shortly afterwards another opportunity presented itself, and was eagerly seized. Robert de Belesme, one of the most powerful counts in Normandy, and in England, was cited

¹ Omnes fere Normanni palam contumeliis dominum inurere, *Godricum* eum et comparem *Godivam* appellantes. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 156. Vocantes eum Godrych, Godefadyr. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2375.

² Audiebat hæc ille et formidabiles cachinnos, iram differens, ejiciebat. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 156.

³ Regnum illi promittentes. *Florent. Wigorn.*, p. 650.

⁴ Episcopi, milites, gregarii, et Angli. *Ibid.*

⁵ Verum sapientiores utriusque partis, habito salubriter inter se consilio. . . . *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

before the general assembly held in the king's palace, to answer to forty-five heads of accusation.¹ Robert appeared; and, according to custom, asked liberty to go and consult with his friends on his means of defence: but he was no sooner out of the assembly, than he mounted his horse and rode off to one of his fortified castles.² The Norman king and chiefs awaited his answer in vain; and declared him a public enemy, unless he returned and presented himself at the next court.³ But Robert de Belesme, preparing for war, laid up arms and provisions in his castles of Arundel and Tickehill, and the citadel of Shrewsbury, which was in his keeping. He also fortified Bridgenorth, on the frontier of Wales;⁴ and on this point the Norman army advanced against him.

The king had besieged Bridgenorth for three weeks—when the Norman counts and barons undertook to put an end to the war, and bring about a reconciliation between Robert de Belesme and their king; “for they thought,” says an old historian, “that a victory over Count Robert would embolden him to deal despotically with them all.”⁵ They came to Henry in great numbers, and asked a conference, or (as it was then expressed in the French tongue) a *parlement*, in order to treat for peace. The assembly was held on a plain near the royal camp.⁶ On the neighbouring upland was a body of three thousand English, who, being apprised of the object of the conference, murmured loudly,⁷ crying out—“Oh King Henry, believe them not, believe them not; they seek to ensnare thee: here we are; we will aid thee; we will make the assault: make no peace with the traitor, until, dead or alive, he is in thy hands.”⁸ This time, the Normans failed in their attempt at reconciliation: the siege of Bridgenorth was vigorously pressed, and the fortress was taken; that of Shrewsbury was next captured; and Robert de Belesme, being forced to capitulate, was disinherited and banished.⁹

These miserable triumphs, gained by the men of the English race, enlisted in the service of the son of their conqueror,

¹ XLV reatus in dictis seu factis. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 806.

² Licentiam, ut moris est, eundi ad consilium cum suis. *Ibid.*

³ Nisi ad iudicium rectitudinem facturus remearet. *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Si rex magnificum comitem subegerit, omnes nos ut imbelles ancillas a modo conculcabit. *Ibid.* p. 807.

⁶ In medio campo colloquium de pace fecerunt. *Ibid.*

⁷ Ad regem vociferando clamabant. *Ibid.*

⁸ Domine mi rex, noli proditoribus istis credere. . . . *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

though somewhat flattering to their vanity, led to no real change in the lot of the subjugated nation. The English, it is true, revenged themselves on their enemies: but it was to the advantage of another enemy; for, though he was married to a Saxon woman, and notwithstanding the Saxon nickname given him by the Normans, he was a Norman at heart. His favourite minister, the Count of Meulant, distinguished himself among the foreign dignitaries by his hatred for the native population.¹ The voice of the people called Matilda *the good queen*,² and at the fire-sides of the huts, inhabited by the conquered race, it was said that she counselled the Norman to love the people; but no facts are related wherein any traces of her counsels or her influence are to be found.³ The Saxon chronicle of the monastery of Peterborough thus prefaces the recital of the events that followed the so much desired marriage of Henry with Edgar's niece: "It is no easy task to relate all the miseries with which the country was that year afflicted, by unjust and incessantly renewed contributions. Wheresoever the king went, those in his train vexed the poor people, uniting, in many places, murder and conflagration."⁴ Each succeeding year in the chronological series is marked by the repetition of the same complaints, expressed in almost similar terms; and this monotony adds to the gloominess of the narration. "The year 1105 was very calamitous, on account of the loss of the crops, and the incessant levying of contributions.⁵ The year 1110 was full of misery, caused by the bad season, and the taxes which the king exacted for the portion of his daughter."⁶ This daughter, who was called after her mother, Matilda, and was then five years old, was married to Henry (the fifth of that name), king of the Germans, whom the diplomacy of the age called *Cæsar*. "All this," says the Saxon chronicle, "cost the English nation dear."⁷

That nation paid still dearer for an invasion which King

¹ Præfatus comes nec Anglos diligere: *Eadmeri Hist. Novorum*, p. 94.

² Molde the god queen. *Rob. of Glocest.*, p. 423.

³ Molde the gude queen gaf him in conseile
To luf his folc. . . .

Rob. of Brunne's Chron., p. 98.

⁴ Haud facile explicari possunt hujus terræ miseriæ. . . . Quacumque rex ivit, familia ejus populum infelicem oppressit; subinde incendia et homicidia exercebant. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 212.

⁵ Hic annus fuit valde calamitatus. *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁶ Propter tributa quæ rex erogavit, in filiæ dotem. *Ibid.* p. 216.

⁷ Totum hoc care constitit Anglorum genti. *Ibid.* p. 220.

Henry undertook against his brother, the Duke of Normandy. Henry had no personal motive for being the first to break the peace which had subsisted between Robert and himself, since the time when Robert had relinquished all pretension to the kingdom of England. The duke had but a short time before come to visit his brother, as a bosom friend; and had even, in return for the hospitality shown him on that occasion, made a present to his sister-in-law Matilda of the two thousand pounds which, by the stipulations in their treaty of peace, the king was annually to pay him.¹ This act of courtesy was not the only good office that Henry experienced from his elder brother—the most generous of the whole family, and the only one who did not become king. Long before, while Henry was yet without lands, and dissatisfied with his condition, he had attempted to possess himself of Mont St. Michel in Normandy.² Robert and William the Red besieged him there; and, being closely pressed, he was in want of water. The besieged sent to beg that his brother would not deny him the free use of what was common to all men; and Robert, sensible to this appeal, ordered his soldiers to permit those of Henry to provide themselves with water. But William the Red was angry with Robert for this act. "Truly," said he, "you display great skill in warfare—to furnish the enemy with drink: you have now only to provide him with meat."³ "What!" returned Robert warmly, "ought I to let my brother die of thirst? What other brother shall we have, if we lose him?"⁴

No sooner was he king, than the memory of this service and fraternal affection vanished from his mind. He sought in every way to injure Robert, and even to employ the improvident generosity for which he was distinguished as a weapon against him. This spirit rendered the duke of the Normans inattentive to his own interests, and unfit to manage his affairs. Many abuses sprung up in Normandy; numberless discontents arose; and Robert's levity of disposition prevented him from perceiving them, or his mildness from repressing them by enforcing the severe laws of the age. King Henry artfully availed himself of these circumstances to meddle in the dis-

¹ Reginæ indulxit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 805.

² Infrendens quod nō sibi de terris impertiebatur. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 263.

³ Bene scis actitare guerram, qui hostibus præbes aquæ copiam. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 121.

⁴ Et quem alium habebimus si eum amiserimus? *Ibid.*

putes between the Normans and their duke—at first, in the character of a benevolent mediator and conciliator; but when discord again broke out, he lifted the mask, and declared himself protector of Normandy against his brother's bad government.¹ He summoned Robert to resign the government of the province into his hands, in exchange for a sum of money. "Thou hast the title of chief," said he in his message, "but thou art no longer such in reality; for they who should obey thee, laugh thee to scorn."² The duke, indignant at this proposal, positively refused: and Henry then prepared to ruin and dispossess his brother by force of arms.³

When on the point of departing for Normandy, he ordered a levy of money in England, to defray the expenses of this expedition; and his tax-gatherers practised the most cruel violence towards the Saxons, whether townsmen or countrymen.⁴ They drove from their poor hovels such as had nothing to give: they tore away the doors and windows, which they carried off and sold; they took even the commonest articles of furniture; and made the wretched people suffer every species of torture, physical and moral.⁵ Against such as appeared to possess anything, imaginary charges were invented; and, as they dared not present themselves to be tried and make a defence against the king, they were judged guilty, and all their effects confiscated.⁶ "To many people," says a cotemporary, "there would be nothing strange in these grievances—knowing, as they did, that they existed during the whole reign of the present king's brother William—not to mention what was done in the time of William their father. But in our own days, an additional motive has rendered these already ancient vexations yet more harsh and insupportable than formerly—their being exercised upon a people utterly ruined—stripped of everything, against whom it was a cause of irritation that they had scarcely anything to lose."⁷

Another writer of that period relates that troops of labourers, carrying with them their implements of husbandry, came to

¹ *Ord. Vital.*, p. 820.

² Dux quidem nomine tenus vocaris, sed a clientibus tuis palam subsperneris. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Nullus in collectoribus pietatis aut misericordiæ respectus fuit, sed crudelis exactio super omnes desævit. *Eadmeri Hist. Novorum*, p. 83.

⁵ Aut a suis domunculis pelli, aut avulsis exportatisque ostiis domorum. . . . *Ibid.*

⁶ Nova et excogitata forisfacta objiciebant . . . aliis atque aliis miserabilibus modis affigi et cruciari. *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

the palace of the Norman king, or to the road where he was to pass, and threw down their ploughshares at his feet, in token of distress, and as if to declare that they relinquished the culture of their native soil.¹ The king departed for his invasion of Normandy; where he defeated Robert, and took him prisoner, together with his most faithful friends, in a battle fought near the castle of Tinchebray, near Mortain. It was a remarkable incident in this battle, that Edgar, the king of England dispossessed by the conquest, was among the prisoners.² Having relinquished his former hopes, for his country and for himself, he had quitted England for ever and fixed his abode in Normandy, at the court of Duke Robert, to whom he bound himself by the ties of affection, even accompanying him to the war in Palestine.³ He was brought back a captive to England, together with his captive friend. The victor—the husband of his niece—granted him a small pension, with the aid of which he vegetated in a remote part of the country, obscure and despised to his last hour.⁴ Such was the end of the last king of England upon whom the title was lawfully bestowed—by the choice of the Anglo-Saxon nation.

The brother who had become a prisoner to his brother was more harshly treated; he was shut up in the donjon of Cardiff, built on the southern shore of Wales, opposite to the Gloucester coast, on a spot recently conquered from the Welsh by the Norman arms. Robert, separated from England by the current of the Severn, at first enjoyed a sort of liberty; he could visit the forests and the country in the neighbourhood of his prison. But one day he seized a horse, and attempted to escape; he was pursued, taken, and brought back to his prison, where, by his brother's order, he was deprived of his eyes. Robert died in prison, after a captivity of twenty-seven years, during which he displayed a lofty spirit worthy of a better fate. One day, some new clothes were brought him from the king his brother; on examining them with his fingers, he felt that one article was either torn or unsewn; he was told that the king had tried it on, and found it too small.⁵ The

¹ Quærula multitudo colonorum prætereunti regi frequenter occursabat, oblati vomeribus, in signum deficientis agriculturæ. *Dialog. de Scaccario, in notis ad Eadmerum*, p. 210.

² *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 214.

³ Ducem quasi collectaneum fratrem diligebat. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 778.

⁴ Pedetentim pro ignavia contemptui haberi cœpit, nunc remotus et tacitus annos suos in agro consumit. *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 103.

⁵ *Math. Paris.*, p. 50.

prisoner then threw the clothes from him, angrily exclaiming—"Behold—my brother—or rather my betrayer—this vile clerk, who has dispossessed me, imprisoned me, and deprived me of sight, now thinks me so despicable—me who have been so honoured and renowned—that he gives me his old clothes for charity, as if I were one of his hired lackeys."¹

Robert had a son named William, yet very young, whom Henry strove to get into his power; but he was saved by the zeal of one of his father's friends, and conducted into the French territory.² The king of the French, named *Louis* (a name into which the Roman tongue had softened and disfigured the old Frank name Hlot-wig), adopted young William, and brought him up in his household; he gave him horses and harness, according to the custom of the age; and feigning a sincere interest in his cause, made use of him to disturb the quiet of the king-duke his neighbour, whose power gave him umbrage. The King of France, in the name of Robert's son, entered into a league with the Flemings and the Anjouans. Henry was attacked at every point of his Norman frontier; he lost town after town, castle after castle: and at the same time, the faithful friends of his dispossessed brother were conspiring at home against his life.³ For several years, he never slept without having a sword and buckler at his pillow.⁴ But, formidable as was the confederacy of his external and internal enemies, it did not prevail against the power which he drew from Normandy and England united.

Robert's young son continued to live in the pay of the French king, as his vassal and soldier, and to follow him in his wars. They went together into Flanders, upon the conclusion of some sedition there, which had been fatal to the duke of the Flemings—Karl or Charles, son of Knut king of the Danes, who had likewise lost his life by treason.⁵ The king of the French entered Flanders with the consent of that country, to pursue the murderers of the late duke; but he afterwards—without the country's consent—by virtue of his

¹ En frater meus, immo proditor meus et supplantator et ignavus clericus qui me incarceravit et incarceratum excæcavit. *Math. Paris.*, p. 50.

² *Ord. Vital.*, p. 838.

³ *Ibid.* p. 838, et seq. *Sugerii Vita Ludovici Grossi, Script. apud Rer. Francic.*, tom. xii. p. 44.

⁴ Ante se dormientem scutum et gladium omni nocte constitui imperabat. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Johan. Iperii Chron. apud Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xiii. p. 460. See Book VI. p. 306.

right of feudal sovereignty (a right very subject to litigation)—gave the dukedom of the deceased Charles to Robert's son William, whom he was resolved to render powerful, that he might oppose him to King Henry.¹ While the King of France and his soldiers remained in Flanders, but little resistance was made to this unpopular act; but no sooner had they withdrawn, than the wounded national feeling produced a general revolt against the new governor, the creature of the foreign king.² A war commenced, with various fortune, between the people and the son of Robert. The insurgent Flemings called to their head an Alsatian chief, named Dietric or Thiedric, a man of their own race—of Teutonic origin, and akin to their ancient chiefs.³ This popular candidate attacked the duke chosen by the King of France; and the latter, having been wounded in a siege, died of the wound shortly after. He was succeeded by Dietric of Alsace; and King Louis found himself obliged, notwithstanding his lofty pretensions, to recognise as legitimate duke of the Flemings the man whom the Flemings had chosen.⁴

When about to depart for the continent, to carry on the long war waged against him by his nephew and the King of France, Henry had made in England, with the advice of his bishops and barons, a great promotion of abbots and prelates. "Never," says the cotemporary Saxon chronicle, "were there so many abbeys given at one time, as in the forty-first year of the Frenchmen's rule in England."⁵ In that age—when the daily intercourse with the churchmen occupied so large a portion of men's lives, an event like this, though to us it may seem scarce worthy of remembrance, was not unconnected with the lot of the English population, whether in the cloisters or out of them. "Of these new pastors," says Edmer, a cotemporary, "the greater part were wolves rather than shepherds."⁶ That such was not the intention of the king who appointed them, we must believe; but it would have been still easier to believe it, had he taken only a few of them from among the natives of this country—relaxing, little as it might

¹ *Johan. Iperii Chron.*, p. 466.

² *Fuit terræ et regno gravis quare plures de Flandria, tædio. . . Ibid.* p. 467.

³ *Theodericum de Holsate. Ibid.*

⁴ *Quem verum Flandriæ hæredem rex declarans, eum ad Flandriæ hominagium recepit et approbavit. Ibid.* p. 487.

⁵ *Primo et XLo anno ex quo Franci (the Francan) hanc terram gubernarunt. Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 216.

⁶ *Lupi magis quam pastores effecti sunt. Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 110.

be, his aversion for us.¹ But the difference of nation opposed an insurmountable barrier: if you were English, no degree of virtue or merit could raise you, not even to the meanest office; while the man of foreign birth, if he but presented himself boldly, with a recommendation of any sort, was deemed worthy of everything. We live in evil days.”²

Among the new abbots appointed by King Henry in the year 1107, the cotemporary Saxon chronicle mentions one Henry de Poitou, who came over to England, because it was a country where priests made their fortunes more quickly and lived more at their ease than elsewhere. This Poitouan clerk obtained from the king the abbey of Peterborough, where (says the Saxon chronicle) “he conducted himself like a hornet in the hive, taking whatever he could lay hold of, whether in the convent or out of the convent, whether belonging to the clergy or to the laity, and having all that he took conveyed beyond sea to his own country.”³ He was a monk of Cluny; and had promised the superior of that order, by oath upon the true cross, to procure for the convent of Cluny the full and perpetual property of the abbey of Peterborough, with all its possessions whether in lands or movables.⁴ At the moment when the Saxon chronicler was writing this account, the abbot had made his demand, and was awaiting the royal decision. “May God have pity,” exclaims the Saxon, “on the unfortunate monks of Peterborough, and on this unhappy abode! Now do they truly need the assistance of Christ and of all Christian people!”⁵

These sufferings, which we must compassionate—since they were endured by human beings—these sufferings, which the government of the foreigner made common alike to the clergy and to the laity—seem, by daily torturing the minds of the vanquished people of England, to have increased in them the superstitious disposition of their nation and their age. They seem to have found some secret consolation in imagining that God manifested His enmity to their oppressors by fearful and fantastic signs. The Saxon chronicle affirms that,

¹ Quod tamen credibilius videretur, si aliquos saltem ex indigenis, terræ non usque quaque Anglos perosus. . . . *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 110.

² Unum eos, natio scilicet; dirimebat. Si Anglus erat, nulla virtus eum poterat adjuvare; si alienigena . . . honore præcipuo illico dignus videbatur. Dies enim mali sunt. *Ibid.*

³ Tanquam fucus in alveario. *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 231.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 236.

at the time when the abbot Henry de Poitou made his entry into Peterborough, there appeared about the forests between the convent and the town of Stamford, great black and deformed hunters, mounted on black coursers, and pursuing black hinds with black hollow-eyed dogs. "Creditable persons have seen them," says the narrator, "and the sound of their horns was heard for forty successive nights."¹ At Lincoln, on the tomb of the Norman bishop Bluet, famed for his debaucheries, frightful phantoms likewise made their appearance for several nights.² According to public rumour, King Henry had horrible visions in his sleep, which so troubled him that, three times in one night, he had leaped out of bed and laid his hand upon his sword.³ About the same time the pretended miracles at the tomb of Waltheof were renewed.⁴ The miracles of King Edward—who had become a saint in heaven, and whom, at least, the Normans allowed to be such, on account of his fatal relationship to the conqueror—in like manner occupied the imaginations of the English.⁵ But these idle tales of the fire-side—these superstitious recollections of men and days gone by—gave to the subjugated people neither relief for the present nor hope for the future.

The son of Henry and Matilda—the grand-nephew of the old Saxon kings—had imbibed the spirit of the foreigners from the blood of a foreign father. He was heard publicly to say, that if ever he came to reign over these miserable English, he would yoke them, like oxen, to the plough.⁶ At the age when this son, named William, received, with the accustomed ceremony, his first arms, all the Norman chiefs acknowledged him as King Henry's successor, and swore allegiance to him beforehand. A short time after, he was married to the daughter of Foulques, Count of Anjou: this union detached the Anjouans from the confederacy formed by the King of France; who himself soon relinquished the war, on condition that Henry's son William should acknowledge himself his

¹ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 232.

² Robertus Bluet, vir libidinosus . . . loci custodes nocturnis umbris exagitatos. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2364.

³ Exsiliit rex de strato suo, gladium arripiens. *Ibid.* p. 2384.

⁴ Eisdem diebus miranda valde magnalia ad tumulum sancti Waldevi martyris. *Ingulf. Croyl.*, p. 116.

⁵ Cujus cognatione et consanguinitate, rex noster Willelmum fundat conscientiam regnum Angliæ invadendi. *Ibid.* p. 911.

⁶ Palam comminatus fuerat Anglis quod si quando acciperet dominatum super eos, eos quasi boves ad aratrum trahere faceret. *Henric. Knyghton*, p. 2382. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 1013. *Ypodigena Neustriæ*, p. 444.

vassal for Normandy, and do him homage for it—as (says the historian of that period) had been promised in perpetuity by Rolf or Rou, the first duke of the Normans.¹ Peace being thus completely restored—in the year 1120, at the beginning of winter—King Henry, his legitimate son William, several of his natural children, and the Norman warriors of England, having no longer anything to do beyond the Channel, prepared once more to cross it.²

The fleet was assembled in the month of December, in the port of Harfleur; and at the moment of its departure, one Thomas son of Etienne, came to the King of England, and offering him a mark of gold, addressed him thus: "Etienne son of Erard, my father, all his life followed thy father on the sea: he steered the vessel in which thy father went to the conquest of England. I ask of thee the favour of being permitted to fulfil the same office. I have a ship in readiness, and suitably fitted up, called *La Blanche-nef*, which is at thy service."³ The king answered, that he had chosen the ship for his passage; but that, in consideration of the request of the son of Etienne, he would entrust to his safe conduct his two sons, his daughter, and all their attendants. The vessel which carried the king set sail first, with a south wind, when the night was coming on, and reached the English coast safe the next morning.⁴ The other ship sailed a little later in the evening: the crew, at the moment of departure, had asked for wine, and the young passengers had treated them with it too abundantly.⁵ The vessel was managed by fifty skilful rowers; Thomas son of Etienne was at the helm; and they held their course rapidly by a fine moonlight, along the coast in the vicinity of Harfleur, before reaching the open sea.⁶ The rowers, stimulated by the wine, pulled their hardest to overtake the king's ship; and being too eager to accomplish this, they incautiously entangled themselves among some rocks under water, in a place then called *Le ras de Catte*, and now *Le ras de Cattewille*.⁷ *La Blanche-nef* struck against a rock with all

¹ Sicut Rollo primus Normanniæ dux jure perpetuo promiserat. *Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xiv. p. 16.

² *Ord. Vital.*, p. 867.

³ Eique marcum auri offerens, ait . . . hoc feudum, domine rex, a te requiro, et vas quod candida navis appellatur. . . . *Ibid.* p. 868.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ad bibendum postulaverunt. *Ibid.*

⁶ Periti enim remiges quinquaginta ibi erant. *Ibid.*

⁷ In quodam loco maris periculosissimo qui ab incolis *cata ras* dicitur. (*Or cate raz.*) *Guill. Gemet. Hist. Norm.*, p. 257.

the velocity of her course, and her left side was stove in. The crew uttered a cry of distress which was heard in the king's vessels, already far at sea : but no one dared to suspect the cause.¹ The water poured in ; and the ship soon went down, with all on board—to the number of three hundred, among whom were eighteen women.² Two men only clung to the great yard, which was left floating on the water—a butcher of Rouen, named Bérauld, and a young man of more elevated birth, named Godefroy son of Gilbert de l'Aigle.³

Thomas, the master of *La Blanche-nef*, after sinking once, rose to the surface of the water, and, perceiving the heads of the two men who held by the yard, said to them, “And the king's son—what has become of him?”⁴ “We have seen no more of him,” was the answer, “nor of his brother, nor of his sister, nor any of their companions.” “Woe is me!” exclaimed the son of Etienne, and voluntarily sunk to rise no more.⁵ That December night was extremely cold ; so that the weakest of the two survivors, being benumbed, lost his grasp, and, commending his companion to the Almighty, went to the bottom.⁶ Bérauld, the poorest of the sufferers, in his sheep-skin doublet, supported himself on the surface of the water, and was the only one who again beheld the morning light ; he was picked up by some fishermen, and from him were learned the particulars of the disaster.⁷

The historians of English blood, in relating this catastrophe, so grievous to their masters, seem to have but very little compassion for the misfortune of the Norman families. They call it a divine vengeance—a judgment of God, and dwell with satisfaction on the idea of something supernatural in a shipwreck happening in calm weather on a tranquil sea.⁸ They remind us of young William's words, and his designs towards the English nation. “The proud youth!” they exclaim ; “he thought of his future reign : but God said, It shall not be so—thou im-

¹ Omnes in tanto discrimine simul exclamaverunt. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 868.

² *Ibid.* *Will. Malmesb.*, p. 165.

³ Duo soli virgæ qua velum pendebat manus injecerunt. . . . *Ord. Vital.*, p. 868.

⁴ Filius regis quid devenit? *Ibid.*

⁵ Miserum, inquit, est amodo meum vivere. *Ibid.*

⁶ Vires amisit, sociumque suum Deo commendans, in pontum lapsus obiit. *Ibid.*

⁷ Beraldus autem, qui pauperior erat omnibus, renasse amictus ex arietinis pellibus, de tanto solus consortio diem vidit. *Ibid.*

⁸ Manifestum Dei judicium . . . mari tranquillo perierunt. *Gervas Cantuariens.*, p. 1339. Enormiter in mari tranquillissimo. *Jo. Brompton*, p. 240.

pious man, it shall not be—and it has come to pass, that his brow, instead of being encircled by the crown of gold, has been dashed against the rocks of the ocean.¹ 'Twas God Himself who would not that the son of the Norman should again see England."² And lastly, they accuse this young man and those who shared his fate, of shameful and infamous vices—of vices unknown (say they) in England, until the coming of the Normans:³ their invectives and their accusations often exceed all measure; and often, too, do they display nauseous flattery and obsequiousness—like men who abhor and tremble. "Thou hast seen," writes one of them in a letter which was to remain secret—"thou hast seen Robert de Belesme, the sweetest delight of whose soul was murder: thou hast seen Henry Count of Warwick, and that ignoble soul his son Roger: thou hast seen King Henry—the murderer of so many men, the violator of so many oaths, the gaoler of his brother, the slave of his avarice."⁴ But thou wilt perhaps ask me why, in my history, I have so extolled that same Henry whom I here so vehemently accuse. I have said that he was remarkable among the powerful of his age for his prudence, his bravery, and his wealth. Do these praises controvert the truth of what I have just written? In general, these kings—whom we regard as gods upon earth, to whom we are compelled to bind ourselves by oaths, before whom the very stars of heaven seem to bow down, and around whom, women, children, and childish men, throng eagerly to view them as they pass—are unequalled in villainy by any individual in their whole dominions. Well may it be said, that royalty is a crime."⁵

The old historians affirm, that King Henry never smiled after hearing of the shipwreck of his children. His wife Matilda was dead; and lay at Winchester, beneath a tomb, whose epitaph contained a few English words—of which it

¹ Ille de regno futuro cogitabat; Deus autem dicebat, non sic, impie, non sic. Consigit autem ei quod pro corona auri, rupibus marinis capite scindetur. *Henric. Huntingdon. Epist. de contemptu mundi, apud Angliam Sacram*, tom. ii. p. 696.

² . . . Obstitit ipse Deus. *Versus apud Brompton*, p. 1013.

³ Superbia tumidi, luxuriæ et libidinis omnis tæbe maculati. *Gervas. Cantuar.*, p. 1339. Scelus Sodomæ noviter in hac terra divulgatum. *Eadmeri Hist.*, p. 24. Nefandum illud et enorme Normannorum crimen. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 40.

⁴ *Henrici Huntingdon. Epist. de contemptu mundi, apud Angl. Sac.*, tom. ii. p. 698.

⁵ Nemo in regno eorum par eis sceleribus, unde dicitur regia res scelus est. *Ibid.*, pp. 698, 699.

was to be long before the sepulchres of the rich and great of England furnished another instance.¹ Henry took a second wife—not from the Anglo-Saxon race, which had once more fallen into contempt, now that the son of the conqueror no longer needed its support. This new marriage proved unfruitful; and all his tenderness was then concentrated on a natural son named Robert, his only remaining offspring.² It happened that about the time when this son reached the age of puberty, one Robert son of Aymes or Aymon, a Norman by birth, and possessing large conquered domains in the province of Gloucester, died, leaving sole heir to his estates an only daughter, named *Aimable*, and familiarly *Mable* or *Mabile*. King Henry settled with the young woman's relatives a marriage between her and his bastard son Robert: the relatives consented, but *Aimable* refused. She refused for a long time without explaining the motives of her repugnance: but at last, being urged to the utmost, she declared that she would never be the wife of a man who had not two names.

The two names, or the double name, consisting of the Christian name and a surname—either purely genealogical or indicating the possession of some estate or the exercise of some office—was one of the marks by which the Norman race in England distinguished themselves from the English race.³ If, in the ages that followed the conquest of England, a man bore only his Christian name, he ran the risk of being considered a Saxon; and the provident vanity of the heiress to Robert son of Aymon, seems to have been alarmed at the prospective idea, that her future husband might be confounded with the ignoble mass of the subjugated, by such as should be ignorant enough not to know the noble condition of the bastard grandson of the bastard who had conquered England. She plainly avowed this scruple in a conversation which she had with King Henry himself, and which is thus related by an old chronicler in verse:⁴—

“Sire,” said the young Norman woman, “I know that your eyes are cast upon me, much less for myself than for my inheritance: but, with so fine an inheritance, would it not be

¹ *Hic jacet Matildis regina . . . ab Anglis vocata MOLD THE GOOD QUEEN. Henrici Huntingdon. Epist. de contemptu mundi, apud Angl. Sac., tom. i. p. 277.*

² *Willelmi Gemeticensis, p. 307.*

³ *Hickesii Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium, tom. ii. p. 27.*

⁴ *Robert of Gloucester's Chron., p. 432.*

a great shame to take a husband without two names? ¹ My father, when he was living, was called Robert son of Aymon : I will belong to no man whose name does not tell whence he comes and what is his birth." "Well said, damsel," returned King Henry : "Robert son of Aymon was thy father ; Robert son of the King shall be thy husband." ² "This, I grant, is a fine name, and will do him honour all his life : but how shall his sons and his sons' sons be called?" "Damsel, thy husband shall have a name without reproach, for himself and for his heirs : he shall be called Robert of Glocester ; for he shall be Count of Glocester—he and all his posterity." ³

After this little story, illustrative of the life and manners of the conquerors of England, we naturally turn to that more gloomy tale, the fate of the natives of the country—the lot of those who watered with their tears, and fertilised with their sweat, the domains of the Norman heiresses. In the year 1124, Raoul Basset, chief justice, and several other Norman barons, held a great meeting in the province of Leicester. There they had brought before them a great number of Englishmen accused of theft and plunder—that is, of carrying on the partisan-warfare which had succeeded the regular defence made against the foreign power. Forty-four of them, charged with forcible robbery and flagrant hostility against the order of things established by the conquest, were condemned to death, and six others to lose their eyes, by Judge Basset and his assessors. ⁴ "It is attested," says the chronicle, "by creditable persons, that most of them were put to death unjustly : but God, who beholds all, knows that His unhappy people are grievously oppressed against all justice ; they are first stripped of their property, and then their lives are taken from them." ⁵ This was a hard year : for whosoever possessed anything, was deprived of it by the taillages and the sentences of men in power ; and whosoever had nothing, died of hunger." ⁶

¹ . . . withouten his two name. *Robert of Glocester's Chron.*, p. 432.

² Damoysele, quoth the kyng . . .

Sire Robert le Fiz Haime . . .

Sire Robert le Fiz Rey. . . . *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Chron. Saxon. Gibson*, p. 228.

⁵ Multi fide digni homines . . . sed noster dominus Deus . . . videt oppressum esse miserum populum ejus, contra jus omne. Primo spoliatur possessionibus, deinde trucidantur. *Ibid.*

⁶ Mid strange geoldas and mid strange motes . . . qui nil habuit periiit fame. *Ibid.*

An occurrence which took place some time before, may serve to throw some light on what the chronicler means by these sentences which despoiled the Saxons. In the sixteenth year of Henry's reign, a man named Brihtstan, an inhabitant of the province of Huntingdon, chose to give himself and all he possessed to the monastery of St. Ethelride. Robert Malarteis, the Norman provost of the canton, imagining that the Englishman wanted to turn monk, only for the purpose of escaping chastisement for some secret offence against the foreign authority, accused him, it appears, at a venture, of having found a treasure and appropriated it to himself.¹ This was an attack on the rights of the king: for the Norman kings pretended that they were owners by birth of every sum of money found underground, for this reason—that in the first alarms of the conquest, the vanquished had buried many valuables in the earth.² Malarteis, in the name of the king, forbade the monks of Ethelride to receive Brihtstan among them; he then had the Saxon and his wife seized, and dragged before Judge Basset in his justice-meeting or county-court at Huntingdon.³ The accused denied the charge: but the Normans called him a liar; rallied him on his short stature and excessive corpulence; and, after many insults, passed a sentence, adjudging him, with all that belonged to him, to the king.⁴ Immediately on the passing of judgment, they demanded from the Englishman a declaration of his property, in movables or otherwise, as also of the names of his debtors. Brihtstan complied; but the Normans, not satisfied with his account, repeatedly told him that he was an impudent liar. The Saxon, in his own tongue, answered, "My lords, I call God to witness that I speak truth." He patiently repeated these words (says the historian), without adding anything more.⁵ His wife was forced to give up fifteen sols and two rings, which she had about her, and to swear that she kept back nothing. The condemned was then carried, bound hand and foot, to London, thrown into a dark dungeon, and loaded with chains too heavy for his strength.⁶

¹ Thesaurum multum invenit. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 629.

² Thesauri de terra regii sunt. *Leges Guil. Nothi ap. Wilkins*, p. 312.

³ Interdico ne illum in vestro collegio audeatis suscipere. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 629.

⁴ Præjudicaverunt ipsum cum omni possessione ditioni regis tradendum.

Ibid.

⁵ "Wit, mine louerd, God almihtig that ie sæye soth." Hoc verbo sæpius repetito nil aliud dicebat. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 629.

⁶ Londoniæ ductus, in carcerem obscurum retraditur, ibique ferreis vinculis.
... *Ibid.* p. 630.

Judgment was passed on the Saxon Brihtstan (according to the testimony of the ancient historian) in the justice-meeting or *county-court* of Huntingdon.¹ In these courts, in which all causes were tried—excepting only those of the superior chiefs, reserved for the royal court—presided the viscount of the province—whom the Saxons called the *sheriff*, or an itinerant judge—a *justice-errant*, as expressed in the Norman language.² At the county-court attended, as judges, the possessors of free lands—they whom the Normans called freeholders, and the natives *frank-lings*—joining to the French adjective a Saxon termination.³ The county-court, like the king's court, had periodical sittings; and such as failed to attend them paid a certain fine for having (as the acts of the time express it) left justice without judgment.⁴ No one could sit there unless he wore the sword and baldrick—the ensigns of Norman liberty, and moreover spoke the French tongue.⁵ Each one was required to bring his sword; which obligation served to keep away the Saxons—or (according to the language of the old acts) the villains, the people of the hamlets, and all of mean and ignoble birth.⁶ The French idiom may be said to have been the *criterion*, by which to distinguish those who were qualified for judges: there even were instances of trials in which the testimony of a man ignorant of the language of the conquerors, and thus betraying his English descent, was deemed invalid. This is proved by a fact which occurred more than sixty years later than the period at which we are now arrived. In the year 1191, in a litigation in which the Abbot of Crowland was interested, four persons bore witness against him—Godefroy of Thurleby, Walter le Roux of Hamneby, Gilbert of Bennington, and William son of Alfred. “The false testimony which they gave was recorded,” says the historian; “and the truth which the abbot spoke was not received: but all present, except his adversaries, thought the judgment would still be favourable to him, since the four witnesses had no military fief, wore

¹ Congregatis provincialibus apud Huntendoniam. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 630.

² Justitiiarii itinerantes.

³ Franci tenentes. . . . The termination *ling* in the Germanic tongues, denotes resemblance or filiation. When the English had gradually dropped the strong aspiration of their language, the word *frankling* became *franklyn*. See *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*.

⁴ Quod justitiam sine judicio dimiserint. *Leges Henrici I.*

⁵ Duodecim milites accincti gladio. *Gloss. ad Math. Paris.*, p. 176.

⁶ Villani vel cotseti, vel qui sunt istius modi viles inopesque personæ, non sunt inter legum iudices numerandi. *Leges Henrici I.*

no sword, and one of them could not so much as speak French."¹

Of King Henry's only two legitimate children, there was still remaining Matilda, wife to Henry V., the *Cæsar* or Emperor of the Germans. In 1126, she became a widow, and returned to her father: notwithstanding her widowhood, the Normans continued to give her the honorary title of *emperesse*—that is, *empress*.² At Christmas, Henry held his court in great pomp in the halls of Windsor Castle; and there all the Norman chiefs of the two countries, assembled at his invitation, promised fealty to Matilda for the duchy of Normandy as well as for the kingdom of England, swearing to obey her as they obeyed her father—after her father's death.³ The first who swore was Stephen, son of the Count of Blois and Adèle daughter of William the Conqueror—one of the king's most intimate friends, and almost his favourite.⁴ In the same year, Foulques Count of the Anjouans, led away by the new passion of his age, turned what was called a soldier of Christ, marked his escutcheon, his coat of mail, his helmet, his saddle, and his horse's curb, with a cross, and set out for Jerusalem.⁵ Being uncertain of his return, he placed the command of the province of Anjou in the hands of his son Geoffroy, surnamed *Plante-genest*—i.e. *Plante-de-genêt*—*Broom-plant*, from his fondness for hunting in the woods, and his custom of putting in his cap, as a feather, a slip of flowering broom.⁶

King Henry took a great liking to his young friend Count Geoffroy of Anjou, from his fine person, his elegant manners, and his reputed bravery. He even chose to become his sponsor in chivalry, and to perform at his own expense, at Rouen, the ceremony of receiving Geoffroy into that high military order.⁷ After the bath, in which, according to custom, the young chevalier was plunged, Henry gave him, as his son in arms, a Spanish horse, a double steel coat of

¹ *Eo quod non erant de militari ordine, nec accincti gladio, et tertius eorum Gallice loqui non noverat. Histor. Croyland. Continuatio, p. 458.*

² *Quoad vixit sibi nomen retinens imperatricis. Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 537.*

³ *Math. Paris., p. 48.*

⁴ *Et primus omnium comes Blesensis. Ibid.*

⁵ *In clypeo, galeaque, et in omnibus armis, et in fræno sellaque, sacræ crucis signum. Ord. Vital., p. 769.*

⁶ *Dictus Plante-genest ex eo quod genistæ ramum pileolo insertum gestaret. Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 581. Chron. de Normandie, p. 247.*

⁷ *Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 521.*

mail and cuisses—lance and arrow proof, spurs of gold, an escutcheon adorned with golden lions, a helmet enriched with jewels, a lance of ash, with a Poitiers head, and a sword made by Galand—the most renowned of the ancient artificers.¹ The King of England did not confine himself to these testimonies of friendship; he resolved that his daughter Matilda, surnamed the Empress, should have the Count of Anjou for a second husband. The marriage was concluded between the two parties, but without the previous consent of the Lords of Normandy and England—a circumstance which afterwards fatally influenced the fortunes of the married pair.² The nuptials were celebrated in Whitsun-week of the year 1127, and the festival was prolonged for three weeks.³ On the first day, heralds in grand costume went through the streets and squares of Rouen, shouting at every crossway this odd proclamation: “Thus saith King Henry:—let no man here present, whether native or foreigner, rich or poor, high or low, warrior or rustic, be so bold as to stay away from the royal rejoicings; for whosoever shall not take part in the games and diversions, will be considered as guilty of an offence against his lord the king.”⁴

From the union of Henry's daughter Matilda with Geoffroy Plante-gesnet, was born in the year 1133, a son, who, like his grandfather, was called Henry, and whom the Normans surnamed *Fitz-emperesse*—son of the empress—to distinguish him from the grandfather, whom they named *Fitz-Guillaume-conquérant*. On the birth of his grandson, the Norman king once more called together his barons of England and of Normandy, and required them to recognise his daughter's children as the successors to the royalty, after him and after her.⁵ They consented in appearance, and swore. The old king died two years after, in Normandy, of an indigestion caused by eating lampreys. And immediately, Stephen of Blois, his nephew and his favourite, set sail in great haste for England, where he got himself named king by the prelates, counts, and barons, who had sworn to give the kingdom to

¹ *Lorica maculis duplicibus intexta . . . hasta fraxinea ferrum Pictavense prætendens, et ensis de thesauro regio, in quo fabricando fabrorum superlativus Galanus multa opera desudavit. Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 521.*

² *Will. Malmesb. apud eosd., tom. xiii. p. 16.*

³ *Jo. Brompton, p. 1016.*

⁴ *Conclamatum voce præconis ne quis . . . ab hac regali lætitia se subtraheret. Script. Rer. Francic., tom. xii. p. 521.*

⁵ *Math. Paris., p. 50.*

Matilda and her children.¹ The Bishop of Salisbury declared the oath to be null, because the king had married his daughter without the consent of the chiefs; and others said, that it would be shameful for so many noble warriors to be under the command of a woman.² The election of Stephen was sanctioned by the benediction of the primate of Canterbury, and—which in that age was very important—approved by a letter of Pope Innocent II. “We have learned,” said the pontiff to the new king, “that thou hast been elected by the common wish and unanimous consent both of the nobles and of the people, and that thou hast been anointed by the prelates of the kingdom.”³ Considering that the suffrages of so many men cannot have been united in thy person without the especial co-operation of Divine grace, and that, moreover, thou art akin to the late king in the nearest degree, we look with satisfaction on all that has been done in thy favour, and adopt thee with paternal affection as a son of the blessed apostle Peter, and of the holy Roman church.”⁴

Stephen of Blois was very popular among the Normans, from his tried bravery and his affable and liberal spirit. He promised, on receiving the crown, to restore to each of the chiefs, or *seigneurs*, as they were then called, the free use and enjoyment of the forests, which King Henry, following the example of the two Williams, had appropriated to himself.⁵ The early days of the new reign were peaceful and happy—at least for the Norman race. The king was prodigal and magnificent: he gave largely to those about him,⁶ and took much from the treasure which the conqueror had amassed, and his two successors had increased. He alienated the lands, which the conqueror had reserved as his share of the conquest, and which were called the royal domain; or made them into fiefs, which he distributed. He created independent counts and governors of places which had until then been ruled, for the profit of the king only, by the royal prefects. He bought peace with Matilda’s husband, Geoffroy of Anjou, for an annual pension of five thousand marks. And even the late

¹ *Math. Paris.*, p. 51.

² Fore nimis turpe si tot nobiles fœminæ subderentur. *Ibid.*

³ Communi voto et unanimi assensu tam procerum quam etiam populi te in regem eligere. *Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xvi. p. 392.

⁴ Te in specialem B. Petri et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ filium. . . . *Ibid.*

⁵ Vovit quod nullius vel clerici vel laici sylvas in manu sua retineret. *Math. Paris.*, p. 51.

⁶ Cum esset in dando diffusus. *Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xii. p. 23.

king's natural son, Robert of Gloucester, who had at first manifested an intention of asserting against Stephen his sister's right, founded on the oath of the chiefs, took upon the hands of his fortunate competitor the oath of fidelity and homage.¹

But this calm soon ended; and about the year 1137, several young barons, who had fruitlessly solicited the king for a share of his castles and domains, proceeded to take possession of them by arms. Hugh Bigot took the fort of Norwich, and one Robert that of Badington: the king compelled them to give them up; but the spirit of opposition once kindled, spread without intermission.² King Henry's bastard son suddenly broke the peace which he had sworn to Stephen; he sent him a message from Normandy, challenging him, and telling him that he renounced his homage. "Robert," says a cotemporary author, "was induced to take this part by the answers of several religious men whom he consulted, and more especially by a decree of the Pope, enjoining him to obey the oath which he had sworn to his sister Matilda, in the presence of their father."³ Stephen (as has already been related) had on his side a decree and a brief from the same Pope. Which was that of the infallible man? This was a point which the fortune of arms was now about to decide. The malcontents, encouraged by the defection of the late king's son, were on the alert throughout England, and preparing for the conflict. "They made me king," said Stephen, "and now they abandon me; but, by the birth of God, I swear they shall never call me a deposed king."⁴ In order to have an army on which he could depend, he, like the first William, called over auxiliaries from every part of Gaul; he promised and gave great pay; "and," say the historians of the time, "many soldiers came to be enrolled under him, horsemen and men lightly armed, especially Flemings and Bretons."⁵

The conquerors of England were once more divided into two hostile factions. The state of things was becoming the

¹ *Will. Malmesb. Hist. Novellæ*, p. 179.

² *Cepit ergo de inceptis Normannorum proditio pullulare. Math. Paris.*, p. 51.

³ *Hommagio abdicato. . . . Adde etiam quod apostolici decreti præ se tenorem ferebat, præcipientis ut sacramento quod præsentem patre fecerat, obediens esset. Will. Malmesb.*, p. 180.

⁴ *Sed per nascentiam Dei, nunquam rex dejectus appellabor. Ibid.*

⁵ *Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus et a levis armaturæ hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Britannia. Id. ap. Script. Rer. Francic.*, tom. xii. p. 23.

same as when, in the two preceding reigns, the sons of the vanquished had entered into the quarrels of their masters, and sunk the balance on one side or the other, in the vain hope of bettering in some degree their condition. In Stephen's reign, similar conjunctures occurred; but the sons of the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps undeceived by the experience of the past, did not now interfere. In the quarrel which arose between Stephen and the partisans of Matilda, they strove not to support the established king, who pretended that his cause was that of peace and order¹—nor would they support the Norman's daughter by the Saxon woman: they once more stood forth to right themselves; and there once again appeared in England, what had not been seen since the destruction of the camp of Ely—a national conspiracy to effect English independence. "In the year 1127, on one day and at one hour appointed," says a cotemporary narrator, "a general massacre of the Normans was to take place throughout England."²

How the plot was divulged, who were its chiefs, what classes of men entered into it, how long a time was occupied in preparing it, in what places or at what signals it was to break out, what was its watchword, what its flag, or what its precise object—the historian does not say—probably because he wrote for men who were acquainted with all these details. We only learn from him that the principal conspirators had renewed the ancient alliance of the patriots—or, to use the Norman language, the *rebels*—of England, with the Welsh and Scotch nations;³ and that they had even offered, in return for the powerful succours offered by the latter country, to place at the head of their emancipated kingdom a Scotchman—perhaps David the reigning king, son of Malcolm and Margaret, in whom they found Saxon blood without any mixture of Norman.⁴ The whole design was discovered by Richard le Noir, Bishop of Ely, in whose hearing it appears that certain accomplices in it unguardedly let fall some words in the course of confession.⁵ This incident proves the real

¹ Contra perturbatores pacis. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 667.

² Conspirationem fecerant et clandestinis machinationibus sese invicem animaverant ut, constituto die, Normannos omnes occiderent. *Ibid.* p. 912.

³ *Fœdus cum Scotis et Gaulis.* *Ibid.*

⁴ Et regni principatum Scotis traderent. *Ibid.*

⁵ Tanta perversitas Ricardo Nigello, Eliensi episcopo, primitus nota, per conjuratos nequitiae socios, facta est. *Ibid.*

importance, to the cause of the conquest, of the obtrusion of the foreign priests into the bosom of the Saxon nation. Thereby was established a universal inquisition into the consciences of the subjugated; for in that age even the fiercest spirits hardly ever ventured on a hazardous enterprise, without previously communicating with some churchman. These communications were to them what the books of Plato were to the heroes of another age; and it was no easy task for them to be always fully on their guard against the insidious interrogations of the man who was supposed to have the power of binding and unbinding—in heaven as well as on earth. Le Noir, Bishop of Ely, hastened to apprise the bishops, the counts, and the commanders of the royal troops, of this new danger to the Norman race.¹ But, notwithstanding the promptitude of their measures, various of the conspirators, and (according to the cotemporary narrator) those of most consequence among them, had time to fly.² They retreated into Wales, there to try again (adds he) if any resistance were possible.³ Those who were seized, perished in great numbers, by the gibbet and other modes of death.⁴

This event happened sixty-six years after the last defeat of the insurgent Saxons in the Isle of Ely, and seventy-two after the battle of Hastings. Whether it be that the chroniclers have not told us all, or that after that time the broken thread which had attached Saxons to Saxons, and made them a nation, was never again joined, we find in subsequent periods no project of deliverance conceived with common accord by a great mass of men, in a manner at all national. The old English cry, *No Normans!* here ceases to resound in history; and later insurrections have other rallying cries, more vague, more political, more social in their appearance. In the fourteenth century, the insurgent peasants of England cried *No gentlemen!*⁵ In the seventeenth, the towns and the fields rung with *No tyrant king! no haughty nobles! no hollow-hearted bishops!*⁶ Yet can the historian discern, in still more

¹ Et per eum reliquis præsulibus regni et optimatibus atque tribunis regisque satellitibus pervulgata est. *Ord. Vital.*, p. 912.

² Porro nonnulli malitiæ conscii fugerunt, et relictis domibus, divitiis, et honoribus suis, exulaverunt. *Ibid.*

³ Potentiores siquidem ad resistendum temere animati sunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Patibulis aliisque generibus mortis interierunt. *Ibid.*

⁵ When Adam delled and Eva span,
Where was then the gentleman?

⁶ Exiit tyrannus regum ultimus. . . . Proud lords and rotten-hearted bishops.

recent occurrences, the living marks of the native hatred between the two races—the one powerful and the other crushed, the one opulent and the other poor—of the conquerors and the subjugated of England.

It is at this day very uncertain, for how long a time the words *powerful*, *noble*, *wealthy*, were, in the popular belief of the English, synonymous with *foreign* and *usurping*. The exact import of the language of the ancient historians, is often as doubtful to the modern historian as the truth of the facts which they relate. They wrote for men who knew many secrets respecting their own social condition which have not come down to posterity : they were at liberty to be vague and make reservations ; their meaning was easily divined. But how can we be acquainted with the mode of expression of the chroniclers?—when we do not so much as know the general features of the time in which they lived :—and where shall we study the time, but in the chroniclers themselves? Such is the imperfect course through which all modern writers necessarily travel, when they undertake to describe the scenes of the old world, and the lot—happy or unhappy—of generations long gone by. Their ungrateful toil cannot be very productive : but let us not therefore be unthankful for the little truth which they take so much pains to bring to light.

END OF VOL. I

EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY

By ERNEST RHYS

VICTOR HUGO said a Library was "an act of faith," and some unknown essayist spoke of one so beautiful, so perfect, so harmonious in all its parts, that he who made it was smitten with a passion. In that faith the promoters of Everyman's Library planned it out originally on a large scale; and their idea in so doing was to make it conform as far as possible to a perfect scheme. However, perfection is a thing to be aimed at and not to be achieved in this difficult world; and since the first volumes appeared, now several years ago, there have been many interruptions. A great war has come and gone; and even the City of Books has felt something like a world commotion. Only in recent years is the series getting back into its old stride and looking forward to complete its original scheme of a Thousand Volumes. One of the practical expedients in that original plan was to divide the volumes into sections, as Biography, Fiction, History, Belles Lettres, Poetry, Romance, and so forth; with a compartment for young people, and last, and not least, one of Reference Books. Beside the dictionaries and encyclopædias to be expected in that section, there was a special set of literary and historical atlases. One of these atlases dealing with Europe, we may recall, was directly affected by the disturbance of frontiers during the war; and the maps had to be completely revised in consequence, so as to chart

the New Europe which we hope will now preserve its peace under the auspices of the League of Nations set up at Geneva.

That is only one small item, however, in a library list which runs already to the final centuries of the Thousand. The largest slice of this huge provision is, as a matter of course, given to the tyrannous demands of fiction. But in carrying out the scheme, publishers and editors contrived to keep in mind that books, like men and women, have their elective affinities. The present volume, for instance, will be found to have its companion books, both in the same section and even more significantly in other sections. With that idea too, novels like Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *Fortunes of Nigel*, Lytton's *Harold* and Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities*, have been used as pioneers of history and treated as a sort of holiday history books. For in our day history is tending to grow more documentary and less literary; and "the historian who is a stylist," as one of our contributors, the late Thomas Seccombe, said, "will soon be regarded as a kind of Phoenix." But in this special department of Everyman's Library we have been eclectic enough to choose our history men from every school in turn. We have Grote, Gibbon, Finlay, Macaulay, Motley, Prescott. We have among earlier books the Venerable Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, have completed a Livy in an admirable new translation by Canon Roberts, while Cæsar, Tacitus, Thucydides and Herodotus are not forgotten.

"You only, O Books," said Richard de Bury, "are liberal and independent; you give to all who ask." The delightful variety, the wisdom and the wit which are at the disposal of Everyman in his own library may well, at times, seem to him a little embarrassing. He may turn to Dick Steele in *The Spectator* and learn how Cleomira dances, when the elegance of her motion is unimaginable and "her eyes are chastised with the simplicity and innocence of her thoughts." He may turn to Plato's Phædrus

and read how every soul is divided into three parts (like Cæsar's Gaul). He may turn to the finest critic of Victorian times, Matthew Arnold, and find in his essay on Maurice de Guérin the perfect key to what is there called the "magical power of poetry." It is Shakespeare, with his

"daffodils
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty;"

it is Wordsworth, with his

"voice . . . heard
In spring-time from the cuckoo-bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides;"

or Keats, with his

". . . moving waters at their priest-like task
Of cold ablution round Earth's human shores."

William Hazlitt's "Table Talk," among the volumes of *Essays*, may help to show the relationship of one author to another, which is another form of the Friendship of Books. His incomparable essay in that volume, "On Going a Journey," forms a capital prelude to Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria" and to his and Wordsworth's poems. In the same way one may turn to the review of Moore's *Life of Byron* in Macaulay's *Essays* as a prelude to the three volumes of Byron's own poems, remembering that the poet whom Europe loved more than England did was as Macaulay said: "the beginning, the middle and the end of all his own poetry." This brings us to the provoking reflection that it is the obvious authors and the books most easy to reprint which have been the signal successes out of the many hundreds in the series, for Everyman is distinctly proverbial in his tastes. He likes best of all an old author who has worn well or

a comparatively new author who has gained something like newspaper notoriety. In attempting to lead him on from the good books that are known to those that are less known, the publishers may have at times been too adventurous. The late *Chief* himself was much more than an ordinary book-producer in this critical enterprise. He threw himself into it with the zeal of book-lover and indeed of one who, like Milton, thought that books might be as alive and productive as dragons' teeth, which being "sown up and down the land, might chance to spring up armed men."

Mr. Pepys in his *Diary* writes about some of his books, "which are come home gilt on the backs, very handsome to the eye. The pleasure he took in them is that which Everyman may take in the gilt backs of his favourite books in his own Library which after all he has helped to make good and lasting.

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